
C R I T O,

OR,

E S S A Y S

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

C R I T O



E S A Y S

Handwritten signature or name, possibly 'G. H. ...'

VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

C R I T O,

O R,

E S S A Y S

O N

V A R I O U S S U B J E C T S.

V O L. II. and Last.

Brompton

Μηδεις μητε λογω σε παρεικη, μητε τι εργω,
Πρηξαι μηδ' ειπεν ο,τι τοι μη βελτερον εστι.

PYTHAG.

L O N D O N:

Printed for Messrs. DODSLEY, in *Pall-Mall*; BECKET
and DE HONDT, in the *Strand*; WHITE, in *Fleet-
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near the *Royal Exchange*. MDCCLXVII.

C R I T O

E S S A Y S



V A R I O U S S U B J E C T S

V O L . I I . and Last

Printed for Messrs. Doolittle, in Pall Mall; Beckers
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Page 118. *Add to the note. CRITO MINOR.*

— 131. *For them read him.*

— 172. *For senso read sensu.*

— 159. *For ss read as.*

— 189. *For endanger, the liberty read endanger the liberty.*

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10 JY 60

TO
The Good People of BRITAIN
OF
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

My dear little Non-entities,

I Take the liberty of addressing you by this style and title, in compliance with the common notion we hold, in our times, of those, who have not yet had the honour of making their public entry by regular birth, into this our virtuous and happy state of humanity. Were I to indulge speculation, I might perhaps compliment you with an appellation implying somewhat more *substantial*. For it is more than I will pretend to decide, whether you (or the first principles of what will hereafter be *you*) are not now fluttering about in the Newtonian æther, of a size so delicate, that the area included within the outlines of one of these Pica Roman o's, or the space possessed by the tittle on the top of this i, would afford you room enough to build yourselves a metropolis, with spacious streets, market-pla-

ces, harbours, fortifications, and commodious dwellings for a million of inhabitants. But waving these conjectures, which may be said to be rather curious than useful, I will proceed directly to my business with your good posterityships.

You will perhaps wonder, when you come to be capable of wondering, that I should think of addressing myself to a sett of gentlemen and ladies, who are above one hundred years younger than even the illustrious Patron I have chosen for my former volume. At this present writing, you have not, I am sensible, got yourselves furnished with eyes fit for reading this Dedication, with ears for hearing it read, or with brains for criticising it. Yet I want not substantial reasons for bespeaking thus early your favour.

In the first place, I hope, as all authors do, to be in higher estimation with your worships and ladyships, than with my contemporaries. We great men are but moderately valued in our own times; but this slight is made up to us by posterity. For we live on after we are dead; and the older we grow, we grow the greater. By the time
you

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you come upon the stage, CRITO will be a sort of little antient ; consequently will begin to be a little venerable.

Besides this, I expect you twentieth-century gentlemen and ladies to be of a more composed way of thinking than my contemporaries ; for whom, I assure you, it is not a little difficult to know how to write. The very truth is, ever since our great Political Conjuror (who will be very well known in your age) spirited America over into Germany to be conquered there, we have been so scared by the tremendous sight of that huge continent (*credite posteri !*) sailing in the air over our heads, that to this day we have not recovered ourselves, so far as to be able to distinguish between a compass-needle and a weathercock, or between a pillar of marble and a broken reed.

It is true, our state-physicians have been some time in consultation on our case. They are bringing the constitution to a crisis as fast as they can. The humours ferment vigorously, abundance of corrupt matter digests ; the symptomatic complaints grow stronger and stronger, and the critical paroxysms will probably be severe.

B 2

According

According to dean Swift's doctor, when the patient is sick to death, he is in the most hopeful way. So much the better for us. The state is sick enough, if that be to her advantage. A nation may, on account of its magnitude, be compared to the Krachen, described by doctor Pontopidan, the good bishop of Bergen, to which a whale is but a sprat. It may, therefore, be half a century in its last illness, and twenty years on its death-bed. I hope, that is not yet our good lady Britannia's case. But her recovery, if she should recover, will be a work of time; as alteratives produce their effect but slowly. I do not, therefore, expect my countrymen, of this nor of the next century, to be in much condition for listening to advice. And if I had determined not to publish till the time, when I might have expected to be immediately attended to, I must have kept my piece not nine years, according to HORACE's prescription; but perhaps ninety-nine, by which time, I should, if I lived so long, be of an age not fit for correcting the press. I have therefore determined to discharge my conscience, by seeing this second

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second and last volume of my inestimable work fairly ushered into the world; and humbly beg your gracious reception of it, when you come to have hands to receive it.

I have observed above, that we are hastening matters to a crisis, which may chance to prove salutary to the constitution. Now I must be sincere enough to own, that, though our driving things to an extremity may eventually prove to your advantage; if you contrive to walk into the world, just as the troubles, we are raising, come to be settled; I must own, I say, that we have yet no great claim to *your* gratitude on this account. For it is well known, we have had no eye to *you* in what we have been carrying on for these last fifty years. We not only hold you to be at present nothing, as above observed; but, one would imagine, by our way of providing for you, we concluded you never would be any thing.

Nor indeed can I pretend, that we deserve much approbation on account of our prudence for *ourselves*, in conducting our reformation-scheme. For it might, in my

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humble opinion, be to the full as judicious to go to work deliberately, and to rectify what is amiss, article by article, as to heap expedient upon expedient, blunder upon blunder, and mischief upon mischief, till all is in a ferment. As if we expected (in the manner of the refiners, who throw a quantity of ore into the furnace, and are certain of the metal's coming out pure by and by) that order, must of course proceed from confusion, and a happy establishment grow of itself out of the chaos we have been jumbling together.

I appeal therefore to you from my contemporaries, who have it not in their power to oblige me in any, but one way, viz. giving me the pleasure of doing them good, and who grudge me that pleasure. It is true, I am not the only author, who complain, that the people of this age are too wise for advice. There have been many writings * published of late, incomparably
more

* The author may mean, perhaps, such books as the *Candid Disquisitions*, the *Confessional*, an *Appeal to common Sense*, *Reflections on the Rise and Fall of Republics*, &c.

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more deserving of the general attention, than any thing within the reach of my mediocrity, which have produced no material good effect. Some of us, your worthy predecessors, have read and shaken our wise noddles over them, saying, "Why
 " yes, as you say, Mr. Author, these are
 " undoubtedly bad things. But it is im-
 " possible to reform them." As if there had never been, in the whole history of mankind, an instance of any one particular amended, that once went wrong. Thus we treat all manner of proposals for rectifying what is amiss, either in the constitution of church or state, or in our own private conduct. And when, at any time, we are told by an honest and blunt writer, of somewhat grossly scandalous, but profitable to some individuals, which ought, for the sake of common decency and common sense, to have been amended fifty years ago: we jog one another, and agree to confute that impertinent writer by silence. We cast a slur upon the book, as a mean performance; or on the subject, as exhausted. And the good-natured people, who

implicitly follow their leaders; do not know what is a mean performance, or what the contrary; nor consider that the subject of grievances is never exhausted, while the grievances continue. Thus the honest writer's good advice is neglected, and the evil remains un-cured, as much as if it were really incurable. Now this conduct shews how we have improved on the sagacity of our forefathers; time was, when people were *ashamed* of being publicly branded; and it was thought necessary to *answer* a writer, who presumed to insinuate, that governors, either in church or state, were culpable. What was the consequence? Why, a controversy was set on foot: Matters were thoroughly examined: Truth came out: The eyes of the people were opened: Knavish statesmen and churchmen were foiled at fair argument, and the wings of tyranny and priestcraft were clipped. How much wiser we; who walk off, as quietly as so many cowards after a kicking; and never make one wry face! *Populus me sibilat: at miki plaudo.* If we have not the

the empty praise, we have the solid pudding.

At the same time, I cannot deny, that there are more buyers of books in this age, than in any former. But this is no argument, that we are at all the better for the books we buy. No nation pays so magnificently for the performance of music, vocal and instrumental (if the frittering noise, we are now-a-days regaled with at operas and concerts, may be called music) than the English. Yet it is notorious, that no people on earth have so little natural genius to music, as the South-Britons. The case is the same with books, as with music; we lay out money in both, not because we want them, but because we are rich, and must lay out our money in somewhat.

Do you know our ingenious way of proceeding with respect to new books? I believe you don't; and therefore I will tell you. Thus it is; when a book is published, if it comes to be the fashion to buy it, which depends upon somebody's saying, that somebody said, somebody thought the

style was *brilliant* *; then every body buys the book, and puts it in their parlour window; that all who come to their rout, may see, that they are people of taste; and there the fashionable books lie, till they become too numerous for the window to contain them. Then that generation goes, and another comes in its place. But as to reading, you may guess what time we have for it, when I tell you, that from daylight, which all the year round begins, with us in this tenth climate, precisely at twelve at noon, every creature of the least spirit (excepting the king and royal family) is obliged to spend twelve hours of the time it is awake, in eating, drinking, dressing, and cards.

I have been just mentioning our elegant eighteenth-century-taste, with respect to style. Our humour about style is very diverting; so, between you and me, are most of our humours. But we will have our way, because, as I observed above, we are rich, and can afford

* Some dæmon whisper'd, "John Bull, have a taste!"

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II

ford to be as capricious as we please. You must know, that we have not, to this day, settled any one rule concerning English style (any more than concerning English manners) by which to determine, with precision or unanimity, what is good style, excepting only that it has a certain *je ne sçai quoi* in it. We are not even agreed about the pronunciation of our language. But we are as eager in our admiration of what we are pleased to admire, as if we had an English academy for the purpose of regulating and adjusting our style and pronunciation, as they have in France; and as if we knew *why* we admired.

You will perhaps be got back to such a state of simplicity, as I suppose you will have the world to begin a-new, that, if any of you should find yourselves in danger of being bewildered on Salisbury-downs, or Mendip-hills, you will be glad to be put in your way by a simple rustic, even if he should give you the direction in plain English, without any *je ne sçai quoi* flourish-es. You will, perhaps, only consider, in perusing a book; whether you find in it any thing, by which you are made wiser,

or better ; whether it sets you a-thinking, and examining the foundations of established nonsense ; whether it helps you to correct your errors in principle or in practice ; whether it assists you in curbing your vices, and warms your hearts to the pursuit of whatever is virtuous and praise-worthy ; whether it teaches you to distinguish between those, who really deserve well of their country, and those, who are more intent on the pursuit of riches and honours, than of their country's good. You will perhaps, not mind so much *how* an author writes, as *what* he writes. We, for our wise parts, never regard the usefulness of the *matter*, if the *manner* be but pleasing. Yet we do not know theoretically, *why*, or *when*, we should be pleased even with an author's *manner*.

But I was saying, page 3, that I choose to dedicate to you this my second volume, because I am in hopes, you will be more in humour to listen to me, than the good people of my own times. There will undoubtedly be a great change in the state of affairs by the time you make your appearance. How it will be circumstanced, no
one

one knows. But when a nation gets to the pitch of high life, which we eighteenth-century folks have happily reached; what is naturally to be expected, is, the fate of the overgrown and debauched empires of Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome, who sunk with their own weight. I assure you, the British empire, in our times, is not *light*. And the props, with which we have been of late accustomed to shore it up, wherever it has threatened to give way, are of a substance very different from true English oak. Yet we have but little apprehension of the fabrick's overwhelming *us* in its ruins, however, *you*, our good posterity, may come off; on whom we roll all our fears, and all our burdens. This security, in the opinion of some, increases our danger.

Providence has, however, various ways of working out its purposes. Whether the saving of the nation be one of its purposes, is a secret, which no mortal can *penetrate*. A good sweeping pestilence, by which a million or two of people should perish, or a smart seven-years-famine, or such a sprightly earthquake, as would swallow up a brace

or two of towns, might perhaps make us drop the cards out of our hands *. We all remember what effects the late rebellion produced, and how it verified the observation of CICERO (he is the author, if I be not mistaken), viz. *Res adversæ admonent de religione*. Adversity puts people in mind of religion.

I will endeavour to hope against hope, that this nation is not devoted to final destruction; but will be saved out of the fire of affliction, and come from thence purified. I will therefore not grudge the trouble of doing for you, my good futures, what I should think almost fruitless labour, if intended for the advantage of my contemporaries only; though it is not, I must confess, without some degree of mortification, that I am going to give advices not likely

* The reader may perhaps wonder, that CRITO should write in such a seemingly frolicksome strain, of pestilences, famines, and earthquakes. But we all know it is common enough, on particular occasions, to affect mirth with an aking heart. And there are few honest hearts in these times, I imagine, that do not ache. CRITO MINOR.

likely to be followed these hundred and fifty years. But it would be still worse to have so much wisdom lost to mankind, merely because CRITO happens to live in an age of too much business for advice.

In the first place, I would not wish you, my good children of the twentieth century, to addict yourselves too slavishly to our maxims and rules of conduct. I cannot, in conscience, recommend them to you. Mankind have, in all ages, run too lazily into the admiration of the *majores*. You will, I am persuaded, do better, if you follow your own understandings, than our example. The world, like an individual, ought to grow wiser; else it might as well not grow older. Our present methods of proceeding you may collect partly from my former volume; and partly from what follows. I do not mention the writings of the historians of our distinguished age, to whom you will naturally have recourse, and who will edify you with the recital of many curious transactions of these happy times. I even now see you, with my imagination's eye, turning over the chapters, and, after reading the contents, thus, "CHAP. XV.
" *Scramble*

“ *Scramble between the majority, and the minority, for the court-places.* CHAP. xvi.
 “ *Scramble between the Pittites and the Butites.* CHAP. xvii. *Scramble between lord C. and lord T.*” and so on; I see you shut the book, and looking gravely on one another, ask, “ What then! Was there no thought, amidst all this scrambling, about the good of England?” But this by the by. To proceed,

We have, you must know, formed to ourselves an idea of government, somewhat different from those of your rusty PLATO's, and your POLYBIUS's, of your antient law-givers, your MOSES's, your LYCURGUS's, SOLON's, ZALEUCUS's, &c. They had a mighty notion of police, or the forming of the minds and manners of the people to certain dispositions, which they thought necessary for securing the happiness of states. We look upon such things as merely Utopian. We have some idea of what we can feel, as a purse of gold for instance. But, as to your notions of entering deeply into human nature, investigating its hidden springs, and turning it in a masterly manner to purposes essential to national prosperity,

city, we look on all such matters as schemes in the clouds. We have but one maxim; and he must be a dull statesman, who cannot master one rule. It is this; "To let every thing remain as it is." This has reduced the art of government, which has been formerly reckoned not a little delicate and involved, to a most beautiful and obvious simplicity. To govern a nation is, in our times, to do nothing.—No—I must retract. It is not *absolutely* doing nothing. It requires your receiving and spending, or laying up, ten or twelve thousands a year; this is the proper business of our state employments. That our notion of government is (exclusive of taking the money) *Doing nothing*, appears manifestly from this. That, while there are innumerable particulars in church and state gone, through lapse of time, into deviation, our eighteenth-century-governors, so far from thinking of reforming them, will laugh in your face, if you propose to alter or amend any one article. Then they resume a wise countenance, and play off upon you some grave maxim of state, as, *Quietum ne moveto*; that is, "Be not moved to do any thing
" for

“for quieting the minds of the people;” *Malum bene positum, bonum*; that is, being rightly interpreted, “There is no evil in putting a good sum of money into your pocket.” *Nolumus mutari leges Angliæ*; which signifies, according to modern rules of construction; “We will not change the law for getting what we can out of the people of England.”

You are to know likewise, that at this present time, the *people* seem as little disposed to insist in earnest, and effectually, on useful alterations, as the *beads*. We read newspapers. We dispute in coffee-houses and taverns. We drink party-toasts. But we have not yet come to a resolution for associating, petitioning, or instructing; for insisting, that a total end be put to those corrupt proceedings, among the administrators of government, which (infinitely more than all other evils) threaten ruin to the state. The whole history of the world inculcates this lesson, *viz.* That *governors* in church and state, whose business is to receive and spend the public money, and who therefore dread changes, will rarely be the first movers in proposing, or carrying into effect,

effect, any alteration for the mere benefit of the subjects. Yet the *independent people* of our hopeful age will not bestir themselves for their own interest; though they have it (I hope they still have it) in their power, in a constitutional way, to obtain, of their governors, redress of grievances; and though this very time is peculiarly favourable, as being near the *end* of a *parliament*; when they know their representatives will be glad to behave civilly to them, with a view to their being *re-elected*. Had, indeed, our electors any spirit, they would not send one member into the house, who did not give bonds to be forfeited, if grievances were not immediately redressed.

Little did our artless honest-hearted young monarch—(I write, you must know, in the sixth year of Geo. III. whom God preserve!) think how indifferent his good subjects are about their country, notwithstanding their political altercations, when he requested, in his accession-speech, the assistance of all honest men, in private as well as public stations, toward the successful discharge of his important office. Assistance! alas my ever-honoured and amiable Sovereign, what assistance!

assistance! In which county of England could Esop, with his lanthorn, find half-a-dozen persons, who would sit down together for an hour, to consult seriously on ways and means for reviving public spirit, for destroying corruption and venality, and getting the business of the nation put in the way of being carried on with success?

We, your worthy predecessors, are, you must know, got to such a pitch of wisdom, that whoever attempts any thing toward reformation, is sure to become the butt of universal ridicule. He is a Quixote, a castle-builder, a dreamer. However we may *talk* over our glass, we are at *heart* every man for himself. And as to Mother Country, like other elderly ladies, no mortal thinks of her. What do you think, for example, of an excuse made some time ago, by a noble lord, whose countenance and assistance in forming an association for public advantage, which would not have put him to the expence of one shilling, was requested? "I shall, says he, be *twitted* with it in the "*House*." I suppose, by the time this comes into your hands, my good twentieth-century-gentlemen, and ladies, the way of the world.

world will be so different from what it is now, that it will be to you incomprehensible, how a British senator should apprehend being *ridiculed* by his *brother-senators*, for joining a scheme, whose manifest design was the *general* advantage, and in which it could not even be alledged, that any sinister object was in view.

We have a most compendious way of dealing with all manner of proposals for alterations, or reformations. Whatever is different from our present way of doing things, is *romantic* and *visionary*. The learned tell us, for example, that "Our Father, *which* art in heaven," is not grammar; but we will not, on any consideration, say, "*who* art in heaven," the more for their remonstrances; because we have somewhat of infinitely more consequence to urge in favour of the *which*, than they have for the *who*, viz. That the former has been *oftener* said, than the latter. It is therefore *romantic* and *visionary* to say "*who* art in heaven."

We have, in pursuance of this sound way of thinking, as many volumes of law-precedents, as would fill the Alexandrian library,

brary, if it were now standing. You will, perhaps, be at a loss to comprehend what purpose is answered by such enormous publications? I will inform you. Upon the principle, That whatever is different from our way of doing things, is *romantic* and *visionary*; it is manifest, that a lawyer has nothing to do with the *right* of the case. His business is only to have in his memory the contents of fifty thousand little folio volumes, in which our way of deciding all sorts of contested points stands on record. Then, you see, whenever a case arises, of a farmer's pounding his neighbour's brindled cow, there is nothing to do, but turn to the forty-eight-thousand-six-hundred-thirty-ninth volume of precedents; and there, in the nine-hundred-eighty-seventh page, column the second, he has the adjudged case of a brindled cow stolen, *vi et armis*, out of the grounds of squire such-a-one. Both cows being *brindled*, the cases are manifestly the same; and the court have only to decide the latter after the former. For whatever *has been* done, may *always* be done; and whatever is always done, is *ipso facto*, *right* to be always done; and whatever is different

rent

rent from our established way of mismanaging things, is *romantic* and *visionary*.

Q. E. D.

Things will, I imagine, be got into so different a way in your times, that you will hardly be able to conceive their condition in our days, or how we could be contented to let them go on in their present track. I think I see you make eyes as large as Juno's in the Iliad, on reading, that, in this our happy age, the house of commons, which ought to be a true representative of the whole national wealth, excepting only what belongs to the peerage, is in fact any thing as much. That the inconsiderable counties of Cornwall and Devon send seventy members, North-Britain forty-five, and the meaner boroughs, above two hundred: so that two thirds of the members are got into the house, before one appears, who represents any property of consequence. That the wealth to be represented in parliament is comprehended in London, Bristol, Liverpool, Newcastle, the manufacturing towns, as Manchester, Birmingham, &c. and the counties, or land. That London, Westminster, Southwark,

6 and

and Middlesex, are represented by ten members; while Cornwall and Devonshire send seventy; that is, a quantity of property equal to a tenth part (probably it is not so much) of the real wealth of London, Westminster, Southwark and Middlesex, sends ten times as many members into the house. If the proper number for Cornwall and Devon be seventy, the proper number for the county of Middlesex, the cities of London and Westminster, and the great borough of Southwark, ought to be seven hundred. I cannot help thinking how strange this must appear to you, our worthy descendents. Yet farther, London, Westminster and Southwark, pay eighty parts, in five hundred thirteen, of the land-tax, and one hundred eighty-five of the subsidy; while they send only eight members. Cornwall and Devon pay twenty-nine parts land-tax, and twenty-four subsidy, while they send no less than seventy members. Or, in one view, two hundred sixty-five send only eight; while fifty-three send seventy. What will you think, when you are told, that, at this time, the great interests of the nation are not represented in
parliament

parliament at all, viz. the commercial, the manufactural, and the monied. That a merchant, a manufacturer, or a proprietor in the funds, is not, by being such, entitled to one vote for a member to represent his property, be it ever so great. That a proprietor of houses and lands to any value whatever, if copyhold, has no right to be represented in parliament. That, therefore, the unanimous sense of the house of commons may occasionally prove quite different from that of the majority of the people of property; because the people of property are not in any proportion represented in the house of commons. This, accordingly, was notoriously the case several times during the long administration, or rather reign, of a late prime minister of corrupt memory, when the then apparent heir to the crown set himself publicly at the head of the opposition, in order to put a stop to those measures, which the bribed majority of the house of c——s were then carrying on with a high hand in direct opposition to the general sense of the nation. For which, accordingly, he was, through the influence of the same leviathan

of power, forbidden the court, hindered from paying his last duties to the queen his mother when on her death-bed, and confined to an income universally acknowledged to be insufficient for the decent support of his family. By the same means a standing army, much more numerous than was necessary in peaceable times, was kept up from year to year, to the open offence of all disinterested and independent subjects. By the same means two hundred and fifty thousand pounds at one time, and sixty thousand at another, besides divers other large sums, were flatly refused to be accounted for by the court, and the point given up by a corrupt house of c——s. By the same influence the meanest power in Europe was suffered, for many years together, to insult the British flag on the high seas, and to abuse, with wanton cruelty, our sailors, without redress, and without satisfaction. Such proceedings occasioned protests to be entered by many of the more upright nobles, against the shameful measures carrying on under the same influence; as likewise on occasion of the scandalous treaty with Spain, in 1729, in which it was
left

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left to the Spaniards to decide of the lawfulness of British prizes, and we were to assist them (because they had treated us with so much justice and kindness) to secure Parma and Tuscany to D. Carlos, while neither Gibraltar nor Minorca were secured to us. And the same on occasion of a bill, of the most undoubted salutary tendency, viz. For disabling persons holding places or pensions from sitting in the house of commons; which bill, accordingly, ministerial influence was powerful enough to throw out. By the same ministerial influence, the natural consequence of an inadequate parliamentary representative, Hessian troops were kept several years in British pay, with consent of the majority of the house of commons, on pretence that the emperor might move disturbances on the continent; though the ministry's fear of his doing so, was owing to their consciousness of their having given him just offence by the blundering treaty they had made, in which he was ill used, and the quadruple alliance broke. Thus the nation was to be plundered, because a set of weak or wicked ministers had made it necessary.

The famous excise scheme is a glorious proof of the happiness of such an equal representative of national property as we have long been obliged to be contented with. The grand corruptor obtained the consent of a majority of the house to what was irreconcilably odious to the whole body of the independent subjects. He feared, however, to irritate too far a people ever jealous of their liberties. The horror of assassination made him give up what he could have carried in a parliamentary way. In spite of all the corrupt schemes he carried on, he had such influence in the house of commons, as to be able to stand the execration of three kingdoms for twenty years together, to escape the just vengeance of an incensed people, to screen himself behind the throne, and to laugh at those to whom his wicked arts had given such tedious disgust, as he had before at all virtue, all principle, and every proposal tending to reformation. These are the effects of an inadequate parliamentary representative. To pass over the whole history of corruption since the above periods ; the words of a popular speaker are

at this hour still sounding in our ears, in which he publicly charged a certain house with such a complaisance for the ministry, that they never could find in their hearts to refuse what the latter thought proper to ask. Were the house of commons at rue representative of the wealth of the nation, it would be as impossible to influence them contrary to the public interest, as to prevail with the whole people to sell themselves and their children for slaves.

In the beginning of every session of parliament, a resolution of the house is published, That no L. of parliament, or P. of the realm, has any thing to do with elections for members of the house of commons. Yet it is notorious, that very few elections are carried without their influence; and that there are few of them, who do not influence some, and absolutely direct others.

When a member, or members, are elected for a corporation-town, it is not certain, that the chief inhabitants of the place approve of the gentlemen elected. The persons, who thrust themselves into

the stations of mayors, aldermen, &c. in corporation-towns, who are, in many places, the only electors, are frequently men of much less property, than many of the wiser, better, and more wealthy inhabitants, who keep themselves wholly clear of small politics, and therefore have no vote in electing members of parliament. Thus, again, the sense of the most valuable part of the people is over-ruled, or lost.

Were you, my good futures, to see the common proceedings at our elections, you would be strangely puzzled, if not drawn into some ugly suspicions. You would, I know, cry out, "What occasion for such
 "funnelling of ale down the throats of
 "the voters? What occasion for canvassing, bribing, or making love to old
 "women? Are these gentlemen so public-spirited, as to bestow all this trouble and
 "expence to obtain an opportunity of
 "serving their country in a laborious and
 "chargeable office? Are they as desirous
 "of being elected sheriffs, church-wardens, trustees, &c. Or do they lay out hundreds in order to gain thousands? Do
 "they buy on purpose to sell? Will they
 "fairly

“fairly own this? If not, what credit does
“he deserve, who pretends, his object, in
“endeavouring to get into the house, is,
“To *serve* his country; when he has al-
“ready proved himself his country’s
“greatest *enemy*, by labouring to destroy
“the *virtue* of his country; which when
“gone, what is left behind?”

I am devoutly thankful, I never had the misfortune to be present at an election, but one; and in that I was an unconcerned spectator. I must retract the word *unconcerned*. God forbid, I should ever be unconcerned at the wickedness, or the wretchedness of my fellow-creatures. The first point, that came to be debated, was, Whether the *election-oath* should be administered to the voters. You will, I hope, my good souls, have better methods of carrying on your affairs than we have, and will not find it necessary to seal a million or two of souls, every septenary of years, for destruction, by this damning oath. The partizans of that candidate, who had been the most frugal of his money, immediately cried out, speaking of the opposite

party; "D——n them! It is well known
 "they have taken money. Make them
 "swallow the oath, and their own dam-
 "nation with it." Accordingly, the se-
 cond, or third wretch, who was called upon
 for his vote, was stopped by one of his ac-
 quaintance, as he was going to take the
 oath. "What beest a-gooing to do,
 "Johnny?" says he! "to sell thy soul to
 "th' devil? I know, thou'lt got th'
 "money now i' th' pocket." Notwith-
 standing which friendly remonstrance, the
 honest elector solemnly called the omni-
 scient Heart-searcher to witness, that he had
 not, by himself, nor any one for him, to his
 knowledge, received any gratification of
 any kind, or the promise of any, to influ-
 ence him in voting. This, I own, did freeze
 my blood, and set me a-praying, within
 myself, that, if the divine vengeance should
 drive down the roof of the town-hall, I
 might stand clear of the punishment, as I
 was of the guilt. I made my retreat, with
 precipitation, and not without a croud of
 reflexions arising in my mind, on the fata-
 lical disposition of a bribing candidate,
 who is capable of taking the cruel advan-
 tage

tage of the poverty of a wretched voter, of whose soul he makes a stepping-stone to false honour, and to sordid lucre ; treading it down into perdition, and himself sinking with it. Then I could not help wondering in myself at the abominable partiality of the law, which obliges the miserable voter to purge himself, (that is, to damn himself) by oath, while the villainous tempter, the sole cause and first mover in the wickedness, is left at large and without check ; though not the more without guilt. Nor could I avoid reflecting, with horror, on the tiger-like, or rather fiend-like hatred, which subsists between opposite parties at elections. For what worse disposition could an infernal fiend shew, than a thirst for a fellow-creature's damnation ? Yet the election I had the misfortune to be present at, was, by all I have been able to learn, not remarkable for any thing more particularly shocking, than the scenery exhibited at most controverted elections.

Thus, my worthy heirs of the times to come, you see how we proceed in a matter of supreme concern, where our integrity and public spirit ought most conspicuously

to appear. Our candidates bribe, and our voters receive the bribe. Our people sell themselves, and the buyers are the shepherds of the people. The safety of the nation is in the mean time neglected by those, who have it in their power to reform these gross abuses. For reformation, as I have said above, is *romantic* and *visionary*. These are, you must know, the happy effects of our enormous court-emoluments; of which more by and by.

I am not for sanguinary laws; else I might perhaps advise you to put to *death* the man, who is convicted of bribery. He is a murderer of *souls*, an accomplice with the Enemy of mankind. It may, however, be as well, that you give him a chance for reformation. But let him perform his penance any where, but in your country. Expel him without mercy, immediately on conviction. The poisoner of your people's *virtue* is more to be dreaded, than he, whose infected breath would give them the pestilence. If we were, in my times, to proceed to execute this species of justice, we
should

should thin the land ; at least of some particular ranks. *

There are, you must know, in my times, some few persons (of perhaps too gloomy complexions) who look upon the state, corrupted as it is in all its parts, in much the same light, as on a human constitution in the height of a putrid fever, when purulent matter, instead of blood, follows the lancet. Such persons have as little expectation of the state's holding on any length of time in the way it is now in, as of a man's living a year round in the extremity of the above mortal distemper.

Our great ones, however, do not despair of the commonwealth. They shew plainly, that they do not look upon the state as in any danger ; if they did, they would

* Even so worthless a prince as Philip of Macedon could see the false policy (to say nothing of the vice) of suffering bribery to prevail. "How come you, young man" (says he in his letter on that subject to his son Alexander) "to reason so wretchedly, as to expect, that those persons should serve you faithfully, whom you daily bribe with money?— They who take gifts, are corrupted by being habituated to that bad practice." Cic. De Offic. l. 2.

would see it not to be worth while to treasure up reversions of pensions and places, for their sons, their grand-sons, their great grand-sons, and so on, to the tenth generation. Having never yet seen their country undone, they cannot be convinced, that she is in any danger from that which has ruined all the free states, that have been ruined. In which they shew the same sagacity, as the drunkard does, who living irregularly till forty, and having never in all his life killed *himself* by drinking, though he knows *thousands* have, wisely concludes, he may soak on with safety for fifty years longer. But to proceed with my inestimable precepts :

After the concussions, which, without the gift of prophecy, or even the second sight, I foresee are hastening upon this nation, come to be settled again, which in what manner they will issue, I own I do not foresee; I would wish your good posterity-ships not to alter the *constitution*. The wit of man will never devise any form of government preferable to *limited monarchy*, with a house of lords, and another of commons, rightly *regulated*, and duly *balanced* against

DEDICATION. 37

against one another. Accordingly, please only to consider, how long a space of time we, your worthy predecessors, have taken in demolishing the state, and have not yet quite finished the work. Let me therefore advise you, when you come to be about setting up the nation anew, to keep to the old constitution of king, lords, and commons: only be sure to overset our whole method of forming a house of commons.

Let all votes universally, if possible, be given by ballot. This will alone demolish the greatest part of the machinery of corruption. It was the original manner of voting among the antients, particularly the Romans. And when, through degeneracy of the times, it went into desuetude, it was twice restored, viz. by the *lex Papiria*, and the *lex Gabinia*.

Let your counties elect, without regard to the cities or boroughs they may contain. Let those inhabitants, whether townsmen or countrymen, who contribute the least to the support of government (they who, for instance, pay the least window-tax) have one vote each; the middle rank two; and the highest three. Let each coun-

ty

ty fend such a proportion of the five hundred thirteen English members, as you find in this way of taking the votes, to be answerable to the property of the inhabitants. You will then have a *real* and *adequate representative*. You may have North Britain represented in the same manner; only observing, that the northern kingdom have more, or fewer members, or the same number as at present, according as you find her contribution to the public expence to be more or less, or equal to the proportion her present contribution bears to that of England. Elect your members for one single year only; and so, as they shall not be capable of being re-elected in less than seven years, according to the wise regulation among the Romans, with regard to their consuls.

I do not absolutely insist on your adopting my scheme for forming your house of commons. You may, if you think it will be more suitable to the state of the nation in your times, take Mr. HUME's plan. His works will be read in your times. Therefore I shall not take the trouble of writing it out. I must, however, insist, that you will not regulate

regulate your house of commons so, as to suffer six beggars to send two members into the house, who, when they are there, shall have as much weight as two of the members for your metropolis, who may represent ten millions of property.

You will, I know, immediately perceive the advantage that must follow from reducing your parliaments to their original period of one year. You will see, that it will not be worth while to bribe for a seat in the house, when the lease will be too short to give an opportunity for earning any of the wages of corruption. If it should be objected by shallow people, as I know not but you may have some such among you, as well as we have among us, that the members will thus be forced to quit their places, before they well understand the business, and the rules of the house; answer them at once, *meo periculo*, that it is not so much *knowing*, as being *honestly disposed to do* the public business, that is wanted. But your natural sense will suggest to you, that it is easy to remove this objection, when put at its greatest strength, by ordering, that the clerks, and a certain

small number of members by lot, be continued beyond one year. Or, if it should be objected, that elections plunge the nation in a deluge of debauchery and perjury; and that therefore septennial elections are a sufficient nuisance; how much more annual? please to tell such objectors, that they forget, that the shortness of the time will put an end to the eagerness of candidates; so that annual elections will be made without any disturbance; especially if you give votes for members of parliament to all persons who pay taxes, which will render bribery impracticable; and if (above all) you have no court-funds, no pensions, no sinecures, no princely offices, no reversions, for bribing your house of commons.

If corruption gradually breaking in, should make the grievance of a few state emoluments unavoidable; at least take care, that no member of your house of commons, on any pretence whatever, be re-elected, or sit one hour in the house, after his accepting any court-emolument, or any of his connexions becoming in that manner obnoxious. If any among you should alledge, that this restraint would be
rather

rather too severe, remember, liberty is of such importance, that it is no matter what restraints be laid on the power of a few, so you can secure the *freedom* of the many. Look into the lamentable histories of enslaved nations; of your own country, when enslaved; and then trifle with your liberties, if you dare.

If you should have any colonies—(alas, the mentioning of that word is *infandum renovare dolorem!* for we very lately had colonies; whether we *now* have any, is unknown) treat them with parental tenderness; cherish their commerce; do not envy them their little gettings; *their* thriving is *your* advantage; do not lay greedy and all-grasping hands on their pittance; do not rashly tax those, who have no representative in your legislature to plead their cause, or to inform you what burden they are equal to. Nor yet, on the other hand, suffer them to entertain the wild notion, that you have no right to expect their proper and reasonable contingent, when pressing exigencies require. Government supposes expences; expences suppose general contribution from all those, who enjoy the protection

protection of government. Give, therefore, your colonists leave to put their own hands into their own pockets; and do not attempt to make authoritative demands on them, or any of your subjects, without their own approbation by their representatives in the house of commons. Treat your colonists and your allies, if you have any, with such honour, and with such kindness, that they may find it their interest to keep themselves connected with you, rather than seek the protection of any other state. Matters of commerce, and of alliance, are not managed by authority, or by force.

Above all other directions I can think of for your advantage, my good children of a better age, let me recommend to your particular attention the contents of the following paragraph:

“ — si qua est Heleno prudentia vati,

“ Si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo;

“ Unum illud tibi, nate deâ, præque omnibus
unum,

“ Prædicam, et repetens iterumque iterumque
monebo.”

VIRG.

Annex no sordid *wages* to the public employments, commonly, with us, called
the

the great offices of the state, but let them be discharged by rotation, as the offices of Sheriffs, and the like. The natural tendency of such a mercenary policy, will be to turn administration into a farce and scramble for the public money; to suggest to the shepherds of the people, that the business of government is rather to fleece, than to feed the flock; to make every ambitious, avaritious, and conceited prater mad to get into parliament; to give a designing court a fatal ascendancy over the house of commons; to bring the constitution more and more into danger of being lost in oligarchy; to discourage true merit, and throw a false glare on worthless ostentation; to render a court such a scene of infamy, that men of principle will not be connected with it, by which means, the business of the nation will be left to the mercy of the very men, who least deserve the public confidence; to draw the great into factions and cabals, and engage them in schemes unconnected with, and often prejudicial to the public interest, while the attention of the independent people, the only check on licentious power, will be drawn away to the uninteresting squabbles among the grandees; the wheels of
government

government will be clogged, and the machine, instead of being regularly drawn in the road of success and honour, by the concurrent endeavours of those, whose business it is to conduct it, will be in danger of being torn in pieces by the jarring efforts of worthless men, who would rather see their country in ruins, than in any other hands besides those of their own faction.

I have sometimes wished, you must know, merely for the experiment's sake, to be dictator, that is, prime minister of this country, during a space of five or six years. My project is, to amuse myself with seizing the liberties of this good-natured people, which, I think, I could with ease effectuate within the above period. My plan would be, to increase continually the power and influence of the court, by getting into my hands more and more of the public money, which I would dole away among my creatures in the shape of pensions floating and fixed, of sinecures, governments, ambassadorships, places, posts civil and military, government-contracts, and emoluments of all sorts. I would easily win the hearts of the independent people by doing a few trifling popular things, such as easing them
of

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of a small tax, which happened to be disagreeable to them, and burdening them with a larger, which was less perceptible; and roaring out, in the house of commons, for liberty; that, as SHAKESPEAR says, it should do any man's heart good to hear me roar. I would suborn an opposite faction; and we should seem to the public to be battling it with great eagerness, while, in fact, we should be playing the game into one another's hands. *They* should seem to take the side of prerogative, while *we* should stickle vigorously for the people, both all the while twisting the same rope at opposite ends. I would let the militia dwindle to nothing, and increase the regular forces on pretence of sending troops to our East or West-Indian settlements, to Gibraltar, Minorca, &c. or I would conjure up an invasion, and fetch over twenty thousand foreigners. I would endeavour to have peers created by the groce; who should have every borough in the kingdom at their command. I would, by means of the emoluments I should get into my power, quickly make the house of commons a mere limb of the court. I would then make a *long parliament*, and (*voila qui est*

est fait!) the work is done. When I had opened the eyes of the people, who would, perhaps, *believe* themselves enslaved, when they *felt* the chain, and would at last be convinced, that the sure means for seizing the liberties of a country, are increasing, and distributing *court-emoluments*. I would then divest myself of power; I would shew the people the artful steps I had taken; I would explain every fetch I had made use of, in order to deceive them, and worm myself into their favour. I would restore to the good-natured souls their liberties, and leave them *in statu quo*. Then I would walk off to my retreat, in perfect *sang froid*, casting on my simple countrymen, as I retired, a smile of pity, and would say, as the emperor did on a different occasion, “*Evassif-tis*; you have got off, for this time; “take care how you get into the same circumstances hereafter” *. But to proceed with my sage instructions.

I desire,

* The antient Greek republics had liberty for their foundation; and their liberty was secured by that love of their country, which glowed in every bosom, from the highest to the lowest rank of the people; and this
love

DEDICATION. 47

I desire, and insist, my good twentieth-century-men, that you will not by any means,

love of their country was kept up by a judicious education and police, which directed the attention of the people to the happiness of their country, as the only means for securing that of individuals. In those times of incorrupt patriotism, every man considered himself as a partner in the advantages gained for the community; and not without reason; when every individual had it in his power, by good behaviour, to raise himself to the highest honours (emoluments they neither had, nor desired) in his country. They taught their youth to consider themselves as *Athenians*, or *Spartans*, not as heirs to such an *estate*, or such a *title*. Their *country* was their *estate*, and faithfulness in her service conferred the only titles. There were no *private* persons; none *private* in *disposition*, none regardless of the distresses of their country, when not affected *themselves*. They, who had in their turn borne the highest offices in the state, descended, in their turn, with equal alacrity to subordinate stations. The honour did not, in those times, consist in the *station*, but in the able and faithful discharge of the *duties* of the station. While those republics acted upon the noble principles of contempt of riches, horror at corruption, disregard of sordid interest, concern for the public good, desire of true glory, genuine patriotism, and zeal for liberty; they were invincible. But when riches, luxury, pride, corruption, self-interest, and indifference for the happiness of their country, came to prevail, the fair fabrick of liberty was quickly overturned. The Persians produced by bribery those ruinous effects, which they could not
by

means prostitute the sacred title of PATRIOT, by bestowing it rashly, or undeservedly, on any man whatever. You cannot do a greater injury to the cause of virtue, than celebrating, for virtuous, such conduct as does not merit that praise. It naturally tends to make men contented with mean attainments in virtue. It is the same with respect to art, science, government, and whatever else it is the interest of mankind, that men of abilities should endeavour to excel in. When kings, or ministers of kings, see the people disposed to celebrate, with the most exorbitant praises, their mean or ambiguous actions, they are naturally led to think of saving themselves the trouble of aiming at any thing really great. They reason with themselves, that they can but
 expence

by valour. Then Philip and his son Alexander rivetted the chains, they could never have put on those sturdy Grecian necks (which, for so many ages had resisted the whole force of the Persian empire) had not *corruption* first bent them down. Shall I desire the reader to compare the present state of *England* with the description I have here given of the antient free *republics*? He had better avoid it. Comparisons are odious.

CRITO MINOR.

be admired, if they behave ever so heroically ; and if they can gain admiration at an easy rate, why should they be at the expence of supererogatory labour ? Instead, therefore, of bestowing your approbation too easily, you ought to treat, with indignation and contempt, those, who shew themselves disposed to practise on your good nature, and to abuse your understanding, by endeavouring to erect themselves, or their factious partizans, into patterns of virtues, to which your impartial observation of their conduct will convince you, they are total strangers.

That you may avoid the fatal error of conferring the illustrious title of PATRIOT on the undeserving, I will give you a brief account of the essentials of that distinguished and rare character. Your twentieth century may, perhaps, not produce an original, any more than our eighteenth ; it may ; however, be a pleasure to view the picture.

A PATRIOT ! — (I could prostrate myself before the venerable name) a PATRIOT is he, who follows virtue for *virtue's* sake ; who serves his country for the

fake of *-serving* his country. His *country*, I say: not *himself*. He thinks not of the vile emoluments of mercenary state-offices; he does not, like the giants, rearing mount Pelion upon Ossa, and Olympus on Pelion, heap employment on employment, pension upon pension, reversion upon reversion, and sine-cure upon sine-cure, in order to clamber up the dungbill-height, to which sordid ambition, or more sordid avarice, prompts little souls to aspire.

Infinitely beneath a spirit of his celestial origin, is the sordid lust of having his name wasted on the stinking gale of popular breath. He is incapable of laying traps for catching the worthless and unearned applause of an undistinguishing herd, who praise and blame they know not why. He will be as forward to serve his country-men against, as with their approbation. He will be equally desirous of benefiting the state, when his own interest is not, as when it is advanced. He chooses rather to be virtuous with infamy, than to prove a time-server with applause.

True virtue conceals itself. Modesty is its very basis. The true patriot is never seen

seen to elbow those around him, to worm himself in, and screw others out, to engage himself in factions and cabals, to insist on fordid gains for himself, and his whole crew of friends. What he desires, is, that his country may be served. If that is likely to be better done by others, than by himself, (and modesty will often incline him to think so, when it is much otherwise) he will never interrupt those, who are carrying on public affairs, till it manifestly appears, that the public interest is in danger. And then, overcome by the requests of the wise and good, to whom his worth is known, he modestly takes the helm into his hand. He keeps his eye invariably on one point; he pursues one regular plan, for he acts on right principles, and right principles are unchangeable. He holds himself ever open to advice and persuasion. He does not shew himself at different times unaccountably obstinate, and unaccountably pliant, according as it suits his different schemes. He does not, at one time, peevishly desert his post, in a season of difficulty, because he cannot drive all into an implicit submission to his dictatorial com-

mands; and at another time yield to measures by himself (when independent) repeatedly declared to be *universally* of ruinous tendency; because he cannot otherwise keep in power. He does not lie at the catch for opportunities of increasing his popularity. He does not observe a profound silence, while wrong measures are carrying on, and ready to be put in execution; and then, with sublime pomposity, stalk forth, as if that *moment* alarmed; and assume to himself the merit of a patriot, for preventing, when too late, what true patriotism would have excited him to prevent, when first proposed. He does not aggravate the errors of his predecessors in place; his attention is too much engaged about his own conduct. He goes effectually to work against the capital grievances of the state. He applies his most athletic labour to the eradicating of wrong dispositions in the different ranks of the people, from which, more than from any other cause, all evils in all free states arise*. He lays the axe to the

root

* Si quæret PATER URBIVM

Subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat

Refrænare

root of corruption, instead of setting a corrupt example by clutching the hardly-earned pittance of the wretched labourer. He diligently studies police, or the art of forming a people to the love of their country, to industry, sobriety, frugality. He attends to the progress of population, to commerce, to provisions, to manufactures, to naval and military discipline and strength, to all that can render his country great, and (which is more) happy.

D 3

The

Refrænare licentiam,
 Clarus post genitis —
 Quid tristes querimonîæ,
 Si non supplicio culpa reciditur?
 Quid leges sine moribus
 Vanæ proficiunt? —
 Magnum pauperies opprobrium jubet
 Quidvis et facere et pati,
 Virtutisque viam deserit arduæ. —
 Vel nos in mare proximum
 Gemmas et lapides, aurum et inutile
 Summi materiam mali,
 Mittamus. Scelerum si bene pœnitet,
 Eradenda cupidinis
 Pravi sunt elementa; et teneræ nimis
 Mentis asperioribus
 Formandæ studiis, &c.

HOR. Carm. l. II. Ode xxiv.

The true patriot is that to his country, which a wise and kind father is to his own dear children. Will a wise and kind father consult his own advantage preferably to that of his children? Will he make his gain of their loss? Will he strip them to enrich himself? Will he plunge them into debt needlessly? Will he draw them into imprudent schemes for his own aggrandizement, and to their ruin? and will he leave them to extricate themselves as they can from the difficulties he himself has drawn them into? Will he wheedle and deceive them, in order to surprise their undeserved esteem, and then make use of that very partiality to abuse and injure them? Will he be the corruptor of their virtue? Will he lead them, by his prevailing example, to the admiration of riches, and of the luxury which riches procure? Contrary to all this, the true patriot will lay out his best abilities of body, mind, and fortune, in the service of his country, without desire, or prospect, of any other reward, than the pleasure of seeing his fellow-citizens virtuous and happy in consequence of his

his parental, his godlike care and providence*.

I leave you to judge, my good twentieth-century-men, whether it is right to give to every ordinary dabbler in public business, the honours, which ought to be reserved sacred in the temple of Virtue, and never produced, but for the reward of such distinguished heroism, as I have been describing. Let all due praise, and all reasonable advantage, be given to your ordinary statesmen, to your men of ambiguous characters, who have done some things well; who have done some things admirably; but others execrably. Only please to remember, that when men of abilities

D 4 for

* The Spartans were once virtuous. While they were *virtuous*, they were *free*. Had they not lost their virtue, they had never suffered themselves to be trampled on by tyrants of such mean abilities as Machanidas or Nabis. There is a noble pride in virtue, of which tyranny itself stands in awe. But, when men come to give themselves up to vicious attachments, they furnish tyrants and corruptors with a hold, by which to drag them into slavery. And next to the guilt of those, who enslave, is that of those, who, by their example, or other wicked arts, *corrupt the virtue* of their country. CRITO MINOR.

for business, and of staunch integrity, see mock-patriotism, or half-patriotism, rewarded with those honours, which ought to be peculiar to the true; they grow sick of serving their country.

Do not, I say, therefore, by any means, elevate to the rank of a *Father of his country*, every middling statesman, who only does a little better upon the whole, than the worst. If you should come to be, as we have been before you, cursed with a tedious succession of mercenary and worthless administrators, do not celebrate beyond measure, those, who, in better times, succeeding to them, give a temporary turn, a little more favourable to your affairs; but redress no one *radical* grievance. It does not follow, because the former were miscreants, that therefore the latter are heroes. If, for instance, you come to be engaged in war, and your ministry, either from unpardonable weakness, or from indirect views, plunge you into the depth of disgrace, by misconducting the war; though they, who have thus betrayed you, may deserve to be torn in pieces, it is not a consequence that, therefore, they who succeed to the
helm,

helm, and gain you, by a commonly prudent conduct, the advantages, you have a right to; the advantages, which the national strength (fairly exerted, under able commanders, who would have been able commanders whoever were at the helm) entitled you to; it does not follow, I say, that these last deserve to be celebrated to the skies. To raise the dull *Bæotians* to glory and fame, was a work, to which none but an Epaminondas was equal. It is nothing to make *Britain* victorious over an *inferior* enemy. Especially, it is no mighty feat to gain a victory over a nation governed by a silly k——, and that k—— by a silly wh——. Yet less deserving of praise is that administration, under which such a victory is gained, if Britain is put to three times the necessary expence in obtaining it; and, in the issue of the war, finds herself almost sunk with the weight of her laurels. I do not mean, that you ought to be barren of bounty to those, who have done their country the most inconsiderable services. On the contrary, they ought to be liberally rewarded; and they, whose services have been of essential importance, ought to be

D 5

provided

provided for. I know not what will be a provision in your times: In ours, when luxury and expence seem to have done their worst, two or three hundred pounds a year for a single, and five or six for a married man, are fully sufficient for all the purposes an honest man can have in view. And whoever desires more, must intend either to hoard up the overplus, as an execrable miser, or to lay it out in wenching, cards, or bribery. Accordingly such an income is, even in these extravagant times of ours, held a sufficient qualification for a member of the house of commons, to place him out of the reach of corruption.

If, however, it should be alledged, that he, whose services have been of public utility, ought to be rewarded with more than a bare provision, or competency; let an exorbitant reward be offered him. If he accepts, observe, he has, *ipso facto*, sold your esteem. He has shewn himself mean enough to be *avaritious*. Is it not *time* to withdraw from him your esteem? He desired exorbitant riches preferably to honest fame. He has had his desire. You have no occasion to pay him in two kinds. If
you.

you had before set up his statue, throw it down into the dust, the moment he descends so low, as to shew himself dazzled with the glitter of mammon-gold, which never attracted the eye of a true hero. The hurtful example his avarice has set, outweighs the merit of all his services. For, indeed, his best services, his very life, the life of every citizen, is the just claim of his country, when necessity requires his laying it down for the public service.

Reward, therefore, him who behaves well, in a proper manner; but, when you have rewarded properly, do not likewise reward improperly; or, if he chooses the *sordid* recompence, let him not likewise enjoy the *generous*. It is confounding all distinction. It is thus, that the desire of true honour, which is as natural to the human make as the appetite of hunger, is, in our noble-minded age, totally destroyed. Nor can any one, who understands human nature, imagine, that all can be well in a state, where honest fame, separate from sordid interest, is no longer relished; any more than he, who understands the bodily frame, can think the health of that person

safe, who has lost all relish for the natural food of man.

Try, I beseech you, my dear futures, whether you cannot raise from the dead the antiquated virtues of sincerity, generosity, and public spirit. They are in our times reckoned so romantic, that there are not wanting among us some who will dispute that they ever existed; nay, this hopeful age has produced certain sentimental scribblers, who have endeavoured to represent public spirit as a proper subject of ridicule, and have set themselves in earnest to defend selfishness, and a view to riches and honours (prostituted mock-honours) as consistent with patriotism. But history will set you right in these points. And for encouragement of your endeavors to restore these useful virtues, please to consider, that human nature is in itself always the same; though very differently conducted in different ages. There is not, nor ever was, a people on earth, naturally incapable of being influenced by honourable motives. And the forming of the dispositions of the people to virtue is absolutely in the power of governors. The undoubted
proof

proof of which is, that there never was a nation upon earth, in which the governors were, in general, and for any continuance of time, men of exemplary character and behaviour, while the subjects were debauched and licentious. And I appeal to all history, whether, in every nation, into which luxury and corruption have entered, it was not the heads of the nation that opened the flood-gates. It follows, that the leaders of the people have it, at all times, in their power to lead them by degrees, slower or swifter, from the sordid admiration of money, and of the luxury which money procures, to a taste for true and solid glory arising from disinterested virtue. It would be peculiarly arch in the administrators of government to complain, that the dispositions of the people were so corrupt, that they (the governors) saw no probability of their being able to bring about a reformation among them; it would, I say, be diverting to hear a ministry complaining thus of corruption in the people, while they *themselves* were the *promoters* of this *corruption*, by bribing electors, by debauching members of the house of c — s,
and

and overpaying themselves a thousand-fold for their public services, out of the public money. With what face could SOLON have complained, that the Athenians were, in his times, become too corrupt for a perfect body of laws; if he himself had been notoriously at the head of this corruption?

I need not observe to you, that the fewer *court-made-title-men* you have among you, it will be the better. Whatever bawbles you trick out the tawdry things with, I desire, you will take particular care, that their mock honours and fantastic privileges may be *harmless*. Let them have no advantages over their more valuable fellow-subjects, which may prove to the *ensnaring* and *detriment* of the latter. An injury is an injury. Let every injury, done to every subject, be vindicated in an adequate manner. But do not punish a *slight affront* put upon a *Lord* with a penalty as severe, as what you would inflict on him, who had violated a commoner's *bed*, or broken his *limb*.

If your kings or ministers should find out the secret of giving, along with the
titles

titles of nobility, *noble-hearts*, let them ennobled as much as they please. If not, you will do well to keep them, if you can, from being too busy in the manufacture of peers. At any rate, it will be useful to accustom your people to think no man *nobler* than his fellow-subjects, unless he has a mind better furnished with useful knowledge ; a disposition more happily turned to all that is great and godlike ; a more sublime way of thinking, speaking, and acting, and a more conspicuous superiority to all that is mean, and unworthy the dignity of human nature, than is to be seen in other men. He, who possesses these divine qualifications, wants no external ornaments bestowed (to borrow Mr. Pope's phrase) " by kings, or by whores of kings." He, who has them not, you may hang round him all the ribbons, that have been manufactured at Coventry in the last seven years, and you may stick on his breast a star as large as the Devil's shield in Milton ; but he will be in reality, and in the estimation of all men of sense, not a whit the *greater* for.

for these paltry trappings*. Nay, they will, on the contrary, serve to render the meanness of his character the more effectually conspicuous.

Whatever *mock*-honours you may have among you, I desire, that you will keep up some, that may be *real*. Let the independent people have it in their power to bestow, and to resume them, by a sort of ostracism. I fix nothing particular. Only, please to look back on the antient free republics, and you will see what a spur to industrious virtue honest fame was in *former* times, and consequently may *still* be made; and learn to lay hold on human nature by its proper handles, and to give it its proper bent and direction. In this lies the mystery of government. A mystery indeed to our eighteenth-century politicians, which they neither understand, nor desire to understand. If you study it, and proceed accordingly, you will see effects produced adequate to powerful causes.

Let

* Strip the gay livery from the courtier's back;
What marks the difference 'twixt *my lord* and *Jack*?

P. WHITEHEAD'S *Manners*.

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Let the honours conferred by the people *die* with the *individual*, on whom they were conferred ; unless his *son* shews himself *worthy* of having them continued to him by an express act of the people. It is nothing to the public, that this blockhead, or that scoundrel, is *son* to a man of abilities, or of virtue, excepting only thus far, that it is the more to the infamy of the son, that the father was eminent. Illustrious extraction does indeed throw a light on families. But that light serves only to shew the real characters of the descendents.

Let no body in your times depreciate the sense of the *independent people*, which never continues long erroneous, by drawing comparisons from the mistaken judgments of persons, and of things, sometimes made by the antient republicans. There is a great difference between the opportunities, those honest, but *uneducated* and *unread* people, *had* for judging of characters, and of measures ; and those to be enjoyed by you *twentieth-century-men*, or even by us, your forefathers. Very few of them could

be

be supposed to know any thing without the limits of their own *country*, and of their own *times*. In our later and more enlightened ages, such is, by means of the inestimable art of printing, the universal diffusion of knowledge, that every gentleman has it in his power to draw, from the writings of historians and politicians, a complete *thesaurus* of that knowledge, which is useful for judging of the merits of statesmen. In many instances, *private* gentlemen, who will apply themselves duly to reading the past, and observing the present, may, in consequence of the advantage which *leisure* gives, be expected to pass *sounder* judgments on political subjects, than those, who sit at the helm; whose judgment is disturbed by continual hurry, and not seldom biassed by indirect views.

It is not the intrinsic value of a star, that, even in *our* corrupt times, gives it it's lustre, any more than formerly that of a wisp of hay (*corona graminea*) placed on the brow of an antient hero, occasioned its drawing the emulation of beholders. It is, even in our sordid times, in the power of
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the great * (they know it to be so, whatever they may pretend) to raise in the degenerate minds of Britons the same noble dispositions, which prevailed among the Romans in the time of the Scipio's, and to suppress the vices, which are the disgrace of our degenerate age.

Commerce and consequent riches are not more naturally or necessarily connected with luxury and corruption, in a *people*, than in an *individual*. If riches do *necessarily* produce, in individuals, corruption and luxury, we must conclude, that all our *grandeess* are luxurious and corrupt; a character which, I suppose, not one of them would acknowledge to be his own; and which, I suppose nobody imagines to be *universally* applicable to them.

Teach

* When governors, either through want of thought, or, which is often the case, from a wrong turn of thought, suffer those, of whom they have the care, to sink into all the excesses of debauchery, they must not expect, from those weak and effeminate men, either generous thoughts, or gallant actions. Univ. Hist. Vol. viii. p. 480.

Teach your people early (a lesson, nobody in this wise age can understand) that, if their *country* is ruined, *they* are ruined. Accustom them to look upon their country as their inheritance. Give all an equal chance for rising to honours in the state according to merit. Away with all foolish distinctions about *religious* opinions. What matter whether you and I hold exactly the *same* jargon of articles and confessions, or whether my system of holy nonsense be a little *more* risible than yours? We may both be alike honest in our public and private characters; both equally fit for being employed, in the service of our country, though you may choose to ride a hobby-horse of a different shape from mine; so we can but agree to admire each his own, and not endeavour by violence to dismount one another.

Abhor the mortal, who shews himself indifferent about his country. He, who is unconcerned about his country, ought to expect his country to be negligent of him. He does not deserve the common protection of the laws. If you can prove against any individual, of whatever station, that he

he has ever been guilty of an expression very common in our public-spirited age; "I care not; the nation will hold my time;" be sure, that such a wretch never be employed in any public station above that of a bailiff, or whipper in a house of correction. He, who laughs at public spirit, is he fit to be entrusted by the public? Would you employ in the service of his country, the man, who has declared himself indifferent about the interest of his country?

Appoint *commissioners* for every department, where there is any receiving and paying of *money*. Let no such post be filled by any *single* knave; but manage so, that the number may prove a check. The public will be often benefited by the wranglings of the scramblers.

If any person in office has expended, in the course of public business, any part of his own private fortune, let his *just* and well-authenticated demands be satisfied, *principal* and *interest* to a day. Nothing will more discourage the subjects in venturing their property for their country's service, than their seeing, that those, who have done so before them, have met with
ingratitude

ingratitude and injustice in return for their generosity and public spirit.

Let those persons, who give their whole time to the public, as the clerks in offices, &c. be salaried, as those in merchants' compting-houses. But do not, by any means, imitate our eighteenth-century-æconomy, viz. of paying the *highest* wages to those, who do the *least* of the public business, both civil and ecclesiastical.

If you be wise, you will lay infinitely more stress on *manners*, than on *laws*. We, for our poor part, act on the direct contrary principle. We have more law for England alone than would be sufficient for all the nations in all the sixteen worlds of the solar system. And as to the arts, by which the *character* and *manners* of a people are formed by true politicians, we set them at defiance. Yet we might learn, if we would, from every day's experience, that *unexecuted* law is only a *dead letter*; and that law will ever be *unexecuted* among an *unpoliced* people.

You will not, believe me, take a wiser or better course, toward regulating the moral principles of your people, and bringing

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ing them to good habits, than reviving honest old king Alfred's law, of making *communities answerable* (with heavy fines, and temporary loss of privileges) for the misbehaviour of particulars. We have only a very few traces of this wise regulation now remaining, as the law for suing the county for monies, of which travellers may be robbed; and indicting parishes for impassable roads, and other nuisances.

If any person living among you is without a visible way of subsisting, give him one immediately; send him, without ceremony, to the work-house. And let the parish, or *district*, be indictable and *finable*, at the instance of any person whatever, in which an *idle* individual, who has no visible income is found. It will be an improvement on society, if you give power to your magistrates to insist on *every* man's, and every woman's, giving an account of some *useful* work, or business, done by them, on pain of a handsome fine to be distributed among the *industrious* poor. I do not know, that any son, or daughter of Adam, that is naturally capable of doing somewhat useful, has a right to be totally idle; or that any

rational being came into the world merely to play at cards. They, who think themselves above lending an active hand to the carrying on of the business of life, may be of use by overseeing and directing. There will never be wanting useful and noble employment for those, who have spirit to undertake it. Let the learned instruct the ignorant. Let the wealthy encourage the industrious poor. And let all detect and discourage misbehaviour, and promote virtue.

If you have any great cities, you will perhaps have some trouble in keeping them clear of common prostitutes. Some think, that species of vermin ought to be connived at in *maritime* towns, for the safety of modest women. For my part, I see not the necessity of allowing any where, what must of course prejudice the interest of *matrimony*. In my humble opinion, the proper method for preventing all the mischiefs, which arise from the *irregular* indulgence of this appetite, is to render the *regular* indulgence of it *easy*, by encouraging matrimony, and discouraging celibacy. You will hardly believe me, when I tell you, that, in our
great

great metropolis, the *seat* of government, you may collect, out of the streets, and *Park* of the king's *palace*, in one evening, *several thousand prostitutes*, who, so far from standing in awe of the authority of the magistrate, will not hesitate to accost a magistrate with a leud invitation. You will be at a loss, whether to account for the permission of an indecency so glaringly mischievous to youth, and so unsufferably shocking to modesty, from fear, in our prudent magistrates, of the consequences of attacking such an army of Amazons, or, from what produces so many other noble political effects among us, I mean the placing in certain proper hands certain proper *douceurs*. Be this as it will, it is undoubted, that there would be *no difficulty*, were our magistracy in earnest, in clearing our principal streets, and confining our *filles de joye* to certain *retired* parts of the town ; which would be no inconsiderable improvement. But we are not to expect it to be done ; because every thing tending to reformation is, in our times, *romantic* and *visionary*.

This puts me in mind of a whimsical contrivance we have for making somewhat

like an appearance of *government*, and an intention, asking your pardon, of *suppressing vice*. What I mean is, our taking up, once, or twice, in a season, a prostitute or two, and sending them to be, what we call, dealt with according to law; that is, placing them in a house of correction, or rather corruption, where there is a revel carried on, that would put Comus and his court out of countenance, and where, by their evil communications, they build up one another in their most unholy practices. Do you adopt a wiser plan. Let your offenders be shut up within the limits of four brick-walls, each individual by him or herself, and out of the *sight* and *hearing* of every other prisoner. There let them be regaled with hard work, hard fare, and retirement, where they may have an opportunity for the study of philosophy and government of their passions. If you administer your corrections properly, you will turn offenders out *reformed*; whereas we only make them ten times more children of hell, by confining them a little while in our Bridewells; and then we politely

lately empty our excremental reservoirs on the public. We have been told, that there is no *need* of *seminaries* for *vice*. But we must not make any alteration. Every proposal of that sort is *romantic* and *visionary*.

In our happy age, laws avail nothing; because no person will accuse another for violating a law, unless the transgression proves of immediate damage to *himself*. For, you must know, we see nothing beyond this circle. Thus our whole people seem leagued together against the laws, and in favour of misrule. Do you, therefore, contrive to bring *informing* into *credit*. This end may be gained, if your most respectable people will set the example of detecting the worst *enemies* of their *country*, the violators of good and salutary laws, and of bringing them to condign punishment.

Check vice as much as possible, both open and secret. This is to be done by good *education*, good *laws*, and infinitely more by the good *example* of the *leading* people. It will, however, be difficult, if not impossible, to prevent *secret* vice; for there will still remain (in spite of education, law

and police) in any great nation, many individuals of little sentiment. But, if you give your magistrates sufficient power, and they do not restrain impudent lewdness, profane swearing, drunkenness, and riot, in your *streets*, put them to death (I was going to say; but I am not a friend to sanguinary laws) or inflict on them whatever punishment you please, short of death, being certain, that hardly any punishment is too severe for such unpardonable *neglect* of that duty, in which voluntary negligence only can occasion a failure of success.

You will perhaps object, that it will be impossible to find persons *willing*, on such severe terms, to take upon them the office of magistrates. But you will do unwisely, if you leave such things to the option of the subjects. The public business is every body's business. It ought to be undertaken by rotation; and no trifling excuse ought to be accepted from him, who would decline his share of the general burden, which, if you manage *prudently*, will not be *grievous*.

There is a *connexion* among the vices, as well as the virtues. Did governors of kingdoms and nations attend to this, and had they any thought of the welfare of the people, over which the Divine providence has set them, they would not make light of any *epidemical* vice. No man is fit to be trusted, who allows himself in any one practice, which he cannot vindicate. *Disingenuity* of mind is inseparable from every habitual vice. And he, who allows himself in one vicious practice, shews himself a rebel against the sacred and eternal law of virtue, which he would violate in other points, had he the same temptation to draw him. But no man was ever inclinable to all vices. Let it now be considered (by your good posterityships, I mean; for we are better employed than in *considering*) what the situation of that kingdom is likely soon to be, in which multitudes *openly* allow themselves in practices, which, being *indefensible*, demonstrate them to be *wicked* men, and are not, by those in *authority*, discountenanced; but on the contrary *encouraged*.

We have, you must know, in our times, a system of philosophy, which makes our consciences as easy as if we had fuddled them with opium. The leading principle is, that vice, if practised in the true *je ne sçai quoi* taste, is not vice. Take the bribe with an air of ease and freedom (it must be a genteel sum); keep your wench (she must be smart) under your wife's nose; and laugh (with a sufficiency of modest assurance) at a future state. The first is only a *douceur*; the second a turn to gallantry very consistent with an excellent political character; and the third mere freedom from superstition. Thus we do every thing with a genteel air; which immediately changes its nature. And when damnation comes at the conclusion, our politeness will make all go off elegantly. For there will be, for aught our polite people of t'other end of the town know, electioneering, scrambling for places, horse-racing, cards, and wenching, in the lower regions, as well as here.

—quæ gratia curruum

Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes

Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.

VIRG.

I would

I would wish you, my good twentieth-century-gentlemen and ladies, either to have no *order* of men, whose business shall be to teach you *virtue* and *religion*; or else to have no *order* of men and women, whose employment shall be to teach you *vice* and *irreligion*. If you exclude either the *one* or the *other*, you will act *consistently*. We, your wise ancestors, on the contrary, pay a large annual sum for maintaining our clergy; and a much larger for supporting a debauched and debauching play-house in every town, and several in the metropolis.

It is diverting enough to see our *players*, by making what is *fictional* appear *real*, draw away all the people from our churches, while our *preachers*, or rather sermon-readers, make, by their awkward and cold delivery, what is *real* appear *fictional*. Our players summon to their aid the arts of poetry, painting, music, action, machinery and dress. With these advantages, what a happy ascendancy might be gained over the *minds* of mankind! With a very little trouble bestowed by those in *power*, what schools of *virtue* might the *theatres* be

made! But our theatrical exhibitions are conducted at the pleasure of *patentees*; who think of nothing, but *filling* their houses; and our public administrators of religion neglect every *help*, and every *allurement*, they might be expected to make use of for rendering virtue and religion amiable and inviting. As to our statesmen, they never dream of their having any concern with the *morals* of the people. With so great advantages on the side of *vice*, unbalanced by any on the opposite side, is it to be wondered, that we eighteenth-century-folks are what we are?

Lest our youth should not take cordially enough to debauchery, we collect a sett of painted half-naked wenches on our stages, and set them a capering, and quivering their limbs in the air, in such a decent, modest, and *woman-like* manner, as tends naturally to excite, in the minds of the younger part of the male spectators, a sett of most sentimental inclinations; the immediate gratification of which we carefully provide for, by filling our streets, or suffering them to be filled (which you know is the same) with a greater number
of

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of women, than would be sufficient for five hundred Grand Turks. At the same time, we lay every *incumbrance*, and every discouragement, we can contrive, on *matrimony*. Our youth are therefore necessitated to go a wenching; so that we, of this very generation, expect to see marriage fairly out of fashion; which will oblige your good worships and ladyships to content yourselves, as well as you can, with being, *vitio parentum*, no better than a generation of *bastards*.

Your good sense will, I doubt not, convince you, that marriage is not so absurd a contrivance, as our eighteenth-century-taste persuades us to think it; that it is as good a way of *peopling* a nation, as debauching of virgins, and consigning them to disease, fruitlessness, and untimely death: and that it is as honourable for a gentleman to be the production of a *legitimate* embrace, as the son of a wh——. You will therefore probably go upon ways and means for restoring matrimony to its former credit.

Now I mention matrimony, let me beg of you not to put your poor, weak, help-

less, married women, in a state of as abject *slavery* to their husbands, in a land of liberty, as they are in India. Why must a married woman be prohibited complaining of her tyrant, unless she can legally prove her *life* to have been in actual *danger* from his cruelty? Is it reasonable, that a savage should have it in his power to make *every hour* of the existence of a woman of merit *wretched*; of the very woman, whose affection for him, and her confidence in him, has brought her into such circumstances of misery, that death would be matter of joy to her. To prevent this distress from being, as with us, the portion of many, bring it into *custom*, for oppressed matrons to complain first to some chosen *friends*; and, if their advice proves ineffectual, to a *magistrate*. And let him have power to *punish* with imprisonment, &c. according to the atrociousness of the offence, and the circumstances of the case.

I hope, my good people of times to come, that you will give a little attention to the behaviour of your *vulgar*. Our politeness raises us above such matters. Consider, the working people are the very strength of the nation.

tion. It is they, who are to raise out of the ground your bread, your meat, and your cloathing. On them depend your arts and manufactures, your exports and imports, your fleets and armies. And what will your country be without these? Is it then of small consequence, what *dispositions* prevail in so great number of persons so *necessary*?

Accustom yourselves much to *associations*. You will by that means come to the knowledge of the behaviour of the people in particular districts, and may enter into agreements among yourselves for encouraging whatever you may find proper to be encouraged, and the contrary. The people's business is never better done, than when they do it themselves. The great ones stand on an elevation too high to see minutely into what concerns the vulgar. And the vulgar are that to the state, which the lower parts of a building are to the building; the foundation, on which the whole must rest.

It will be a very good improvement on your police, if you can, by any contrivance, draw your vulgar to the French no-

tion of living in the following respect. A French *manant* is not, like an Englishman, contented in *rags*, if he can have a good *dinner*. He must have a decent coat, and ruffles, with or without a shirt, to strut about with on Sunday, not to mention the expence necessary for powdering his hair, and blacking his shoes. This obliges him to *save* up the sum of a few livres together. Whereas the English working artisan, or labourer, if he can but command as much ready money as will purchase him a beef-steak and a quart of beer, cares not, whether he wears a coat, or a bunch of candle-wicks.

I do not know how you twentieth-century people will order the *education* of your vulgar. But I will, for your edification, set down our present English plan. This will soon be done: For it consists of only *one* article, viz. Making them, when children, scream some *godly words*, called a *catechism*, once a week in our churches, to the very successful mis-tuning of our ears, and splitting of our heads; of the meaning of which godly words the poor mortals know

as

as much at twenty-five years of age, as—the charity-school-masters, and school-mistresses, who have the care of them. As to teaching them to distinguish between *good* and *evil*, or any knowledge of the religion we profane, our clergy do not, I suppose, *approve* of the practice of all *other* countries, viz. instructing the vulgar in these matters, so that they may have somewhat more in their heads than a sett of *meaningless* syllables.

With all due submission to the better judgment of our English parochial clergy, I cannot say, but my mind misgives me, that they might employ their time better in explaining, in a way of *familiar* conversation, to the common people, especially the *younger* part, so much of morality and religion, that the wretched beings might know there is somewhat besides *pillories* and *gibbets*, which ought to set the minds of men against vice; I am, I say, inclinable to doubt, whether the clergy would not employ their time more *usefully* in such business as this, than in composing *learned* sermons to be (*preached*, I was going to say)

read

read to sleeping audiences *. But I well know, those reverend gentlemen will say all this is *romantic* and *visionary*.

You must know, my good people to come, that in our times, the most *independent* of all created beings is a London *footman*. We have generously established an endless *Saturnalian feast*, that is, we have made our *servants* our *masters*. House-keepers are necessitated to keep up somewhat of a *character*; else they will lose their friendships and connexions. But we are so kind (in your sober judgments it will be, perhaps, *unkind*) to our domestics, that we let them behave as they will, during the time of their abode in our service; and when they have forced us to dismiss them, we give a very *good account* of them to our next neighbours, who engage them in their service;

* The clergy of the church of *Scotland* do carefully instruct the children of the meanest poor in religious principles, which appears manifestly from the *difference*, between the character and behaviour of the vulgar of the *northern*, compared with those of the *southern* kingdom, says the benevolent and public-spirited Mr. HANWAY, in his letter in the *Daily Gazetteer*, of Monday, September the 15th, 1766.

vice; and find themselves disappointed in the same manner; and so the diversion goes on.

We have been often advised to *associate*, and agree among ourselves to give our domestics, quitting our service, *true* characters, and to take no servants without clear and well-authenticated testimonials; which would undoubtedly prevent their treating us with insolence, and laughing at us, as they do now, when we threaten to refuse them a recommendation to another family. We are, at this very time, in great distress for money for the public service. It has been proposed, that domestic servants should, on removing from one family to another, be obliged to carry with them their testimonials on a ten shilling *stamp-paper*, the expence to be divided between the master and the servant. There are in England six or eight hundred thousand menial servants (not to mention, artificers journeymen, farmers work-people, sailors, &c.) each of which domestic servants changes his or her service not less than six times in every year. The tax here proposed would raise a sum not much

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under

under two good sterling millions per ann. A pretty article for the sinking fund. Or if it should put our servants on *behaving* in such a manner, that we could keep them in our service *half-a-year* together; though the produce of the tax should fall a little short of the above sum, I see no other harm in a measure, which might tend to the improvement of the manners of a sett of people, to whom we trust our *houses* and our *children*, than that, like every other scheme tending to reformation, it is *romantic* and *visionary*.

I give you this brief account of the wisdom of our times, in respect to our management of our *servants*, with the view of your profiting by it. And with the same view, I will add here,

Our method of providing for our *poor*. It will, I suppose, divert you. We raise, you must know, a tax in every *parish*, for maintaining the poor of that parish, and commonly commit the wretched mortals to any person, who will undertake to starve them at the most *reasonable* rate. Then, if one, who is a parishioner of Islington, or Shoreditch, happen to be overtaken by
distress

distress at Carlisle, or Exeter, he is first to be carted three hundred miles to his place of abode, which is a considerable charge; and, perhaps, on his arrival, a dispute arises (as about the birth place of HOMER) whether the parish of Islington, or that of Shoreditch, is obliged to maintain him; in which more *money* is *spent*, to the edification, however, of the lawyers, than would have supported six poor persons; and by the time the dispute is ended, the man commodiously dying, both parishes are free from the charge, and are eased of a round sum, fruitlessly spent at law. This litigation of the places of legal settlement, often occasions the pushing of a *dying* beggar, or a woman taken in *labour*, in the street, out of one parish into another, by the two beadles, till the person, who is the subject of the contest, *expires* in their hands, to the great entertainment of the spectators.

In place of this method of managing our poor, which occasions an enormous *burden* falling upon a parish, in which there are many poor, and few rich, while a rich parish is almost *free*; it has been proposed, that

that settlements, instead of being *parochial*, should be made *provincial*, or *national*; that the tax, for support of the poor, be *equal* throughout, and be raised by the collectors of the land-tax, with other particulars, too tedious to trouble you with. But we wisely reject all alterations, as *romantic* and *visionary* *.

If any of your twentieth-century-geniuses should invent a method of living without victuals and drink, or of feeding with the cattle on grass and water, so much the better for you. But if you should not happen to hit on this secret, I beg, that you will take particular care, that your people may have wherewith to support *nature*.

Dearth

* Such is our horror at *new* ways of doing our business, that, from king LUD'S time to the present, we have not been able to bring ourselves to think of saving the lives of the people of the metropolis, of which, several are lost every year by their being gored by enraged bullocks, driven loose up and down our streets. Yet we know a bit of cord, value two-pence, which might be used twenty times, to pass between the knee and the horn of the animal, would effectually prevent this whole mischief.

CRITO MINOR.

Dearth of provisions, and consequently want of a competency of good and wholesome food, renders a people weak, and unfit for labour, agriculture, manufactures, the sea, the army, and population. It increases the number of the poor, burdens parishes, brings on diseases, fills hospitals, tempts to thefts, robberies, and insurrections *, sometimes produces pestilential distempers,

* At the very time these pages were in hand, every letter from the country brought an account of some rising of the artificially-famished poor, with various particulars of mills burnt, corn and flour, cheese, bacon, and other provisions carried off, and people killed in the scuffle. You will not wonder, that the people should be outrageous, when I tell you, that we have of late been sending one half of our wheat out of the kingdom, and destroying the other half, rather than the poor should have a morsel of bread. *Destroying*, did I say? To destroy it, would be *piety* compared with the use we make of it. I know you will not believe what I am going to tell you; but out it must come. We have for many years carried on an infernal practice of turning God's best earthly gift into poison. We have been *distilling* our wheat, the great support of life, into liquid *fire*, which we have been pouring down the throats of our wretched people, to the ruin of their health, the maddening of their brains, the destruction of their morals,

distempers, forces the starving inhabitants to fly, and carry with them their profitable arts, to more plentiful countries; or if they stay, puts them upon hurrying their manufactures and works out of hand, unfinished and insufficient, to the national disgrace and loss.

To avoid scarcity and dearth, apply your lands to the production of corn, and maintenance of bestial. Set up public granaries in all towns, to be opened on occasions of necessity, for lowering the price of grain, when dear. Let every town have around it certain inclosures for breeding and feeding cattle, to be slaughtered for keeping the price of butchers meat reasonable. Keep the destruction of young bestial within bounds. Suffer no idle people, but persons of fortune, nor them to be altogether

erals, the prevention of population, and the extinction of infants by thousands at the breast; and to the permission of all this havock our g—rs have given their sanction, because the public revenue has (according to their blundering calculations) gained by it. That is, we have put the price not of blood only, but likewise of souls, into our treasury.

altogether inactive. Give prizes to those, who produce the greatest quantities of corn and numbers of cattle on their lands. And suffer no exportation, but when corn is cheap. Discourage all artificial enhancements of provisions. We, in our great wisdom, restrain the poor baker to a certain limited profit; but we allow the landlord, the exporter of corn, the farmer, the grazier, the jobber, the mealman, the miller, the brewer, the poisoner or distiller, the engrosser, the forestaller, the regrater, the carcass-butcher, and the other encroachers, to load the necessaries of life with whatever unjust profits they, in their great eagerness for money, and indifference about the miseries of the poor, may think proper. If you be wise, you will fix every essential necessary (they are but two or three) of life to a certain price, and every person concerned in them to a certain gain, and will raise heavy mulcts on those, who, by any mal-practice whatever, contribute to the enhancement of their prices. There is no reason why a landlord should, because he is a squire, a lord, or a duke, have it in his power to *starve* the *nation*, by raising the

the *rents* of his lands (if one may, all may) to an immoderate rate, or to unpeople the country, by laying half his estate into *lawns* and *parks*, and letting a thousand acres to *one* farmer, any more than for allowing the *baker* to enhance his profit. The public *safety* is, at any rate, to be secured; even if his grace should be reduced (*horresco referens*) to the cruel necessity of drinking humble Port instead of Burgundy. Our eighteenth-century-ethics are founded on this principle, That nothing is *wrong*, by which *money* is got. Accordingly our land-proprietors strive with one another, which shall *rack* the *rents* of their estates the highest. Our farmers *engross* as many farms into their hands as they can; they sell the products of their lands at what *price* they please. There are multitudes combined together to *ingross*, and hand from one to another, every necessary of life; and each of these blood-suckers has his *profit*. Thus the essentials of life do not come into the hands of the consumer, till they are loaded with several *unjust expences* piled one above another. While other nations, by living cheaper, *undersell* us at foreign markets.

Nay—

Nay—(I do not expect you to *believe* what I am going to add; but I must tell it you) we have, at times, when corn has been unreasonably dear, allowed *bounties* on the exportation of it, which bounties are raised on the public, to their great *oppression* and *affliction*; and, for want of forethought of what might happen in *three* months, have suffered such quantities of that prime support of life to be carried to our enemies, that we have brought on *artificial famines*, and have afterwards been obliged to open our ports for the importation of *foreign* corn, both of an *inferior* quality and *higher* price than our own. By these means our poor have been *doubly* distressed; first, in paying the *tax*, for a bounty, to enrich the corn-merchant, the farmer, and the landholder, and to starve themselves; and again, in being obliged to pay an advanced price for worse grain imported. We cannot, or rather will not see, that sound policy directs to make sure, at all events, of the necessities of life, and never to think of *exporting* them, whatever allurements of a seeming temporary advantage may present itself, till they become a *superfluity* to ourselves,

selves, and fall to a price below what those, who employ themselves in raising them, can maintain themselves by. Nor can we borrow so much leisure from the card-table, and the court-scramble, as to consider, that there ought to be a *proportion* maintained among the articles necessary for life; that, unless we mean to feed our whole people, as we do our criminals, on bread only, there ought to be some *pasture lands* left; and that therefore the encouragement, for raising corn, ought to be kept within such bounds, that the people may not be tempted to turn the whole three kingdoms into arable land, and render a dinner on a bit of mutton as costly as a treat of ortolans and carps palates.

Check luxury in your people as much as possible, by taxing their *idleness* and *extravagance*, and the materials and incitements of them; at the same time easing their *industry* and *labour*, and the materials necessary for them.

We have among us some profound people, who argue, that *luxury* ought to be *encouraged*, in consideration of its employing *hands*, circulating *money*, and causing a
consumption

consumption of *materials*. You will, I doubt not, be wiser; and will see clearly, that, though it is the interest of a commercial people to encourage luxury in *other* countries; it is the very contrary in their *own*. That, in a commercial country, the hands ought to be *employed*, and the materials *consumed*, not by the *inhabitants*, but by *foreigners*. That this, and this only, is what gains us a *balance* against foreigners, to our advantage. Some short-sighted people among us lay great stress on its being for instance an advantage to us, that we are the only people, to whose taste the Portuguese wines happen to be suitable; because, in consequence of this circumstance, it suits that people to deal with us for the *manufactures* they want. But you will immediately understand, that, if it be for our advantage to deal with Portugal on the foot of our *consuming* their wines; it would be much more so, if we could *export* them to another country, gain an additional profit by this exportation, and content ourselves with malt-liquor of our own produce at a fourth part of the expence. All this you will understand perfectly; and that *luxury*,

instead of being a proper object of encouragement, is the certain *ruin* of kingdoms and empires.

In all schemes for raising the necessary public money, ease your *commerce* as much as possible, if you should burden your *lands* in proportion. You may depend on the *justness* of this rule. For it is directly contrary to *our* policy, as are most of those I have given you. You will understand, that *trade* requires to be *cherished*, and kept on a foot with that of *rival* states. Whereas *land* will always shift for itself, and be *valuable*, if *commerce* flourishes, and contrariwise.

Let no manufacture be offered to sale, either for domestic or foreign consumption, that is not examined, and *stamped*, if sufficient; and let the defective be condemned. By this means you will keep up the *credit* of your several *fabricks*.

To what I have said elsewhere of the *law*, from which you may please to take what hints you may find likely to be serviceable to you, I beg leave to subjoin here a few cautions.

If

If you find it necessary to have any lawyers, or courts of law (which I am, in my own mind, inclinable to think you hardly will; and that you will content yourselves with your *king* and *parliament*, for regulating public affairs, a few *magistrates* for keeping the peace, which will be easily done among *well-educated* people, and *arbitration* for disputes about property) I must beg, that you will take care, that none of your courts, from the highest to the lowest, do assume to themselves the privilege of punishing for what they may please to call, *contempt of the court*, or *breach of privilege*, without the full and spontaneous approbation of a *jury* of the accused person's peers. If you allow any body of men whatever, the privilege of being, at the same time, law-makers, judges, jury, and executioners; they may soon form themselves into a knot of tyrants, entrench themselves within certain boundaries of their own establishing, and inflict what punishments they please on the best *friends to liberty*, who will, of course, be the most likely to break through their mock-privileges, and become obnoxious to their

usurped power. In a word, I would wish you to establish your liberties on such a foot, that no subject may be in danger of being deprived of one shilling of his property, one hour of his liberty, or one hair of his person, on any pretence whatever, without the *approbation* of at least *twelve* of his *peers* indifferently called together.

Let your juries consist of *eighteen* men. And let the concurrent opinion of twelve of them be a legal verdict. There is no occasion for requiring an absolute *unanimity* of the *whole* number summoned. Nor is there much sense, as far as I can see, in putting it in the power of one obstinate fellow, who may have an extraordinary talent at *fasting*, to *starve* the other eleven, or force them upon *perjury*. Nor do I clearly see the wit of obliging jurymen to bring in their verdict before they part, so that they must *hang* the culprit in mere self-defence.

We, your wise forefathers, have never yet been able to determine, whether the province of a jury ought to extend to *law*, or if their verdict is to be confined to the mere *fact*, or question, whether the accused

has done the action, which, according to some *antiquated, unknown, or unjust* statute, infers a severe punishment. If you be wise, you will get this point decided, in such manner, that your verdict of acquittance may be, not as ours, "Guilty, ten pence;" but, "We will not have our fellow-citizen "punished." When you condemn, let it be, "We think the accused punishable "with death, fine, scourging, imprisonment, &c." according to the offence. You will do wisely to have no more laws, than what might be printed in one such volume, as these of CRITO. Let them only forbid such and such actions, ("Thou shalt do no murder; Thou shalt not steal, &c.") leaving the sanction, or *punishment*, to be determined, *pro re nata*, by the jury. The consequences of particular disorderly actions being, at some periods, much more fatal than at others, it is impossible to fix, by a *permanent* law, sanctions, which shall, at all *times*, and in all *circumstances*, prove adequate to the guilt, and *no more* than sufficient, and yet *fully* sufficient, for prevention. Besides, you will, by this management, cut off in-

finite wrangling, tediousness, and expence, arising from the unavoidable consequences of having your laws incumbered with an endless multiplicity of *circumstantials*, which only give opportunity for evasion, chicanery, and collusion; to the prejudice of the subjects, and frustration of the very *end* of laws; I mean their end with respect to the *people*; for, as to their end with respect to the *lawyers*, it is impossible to imagine any thing more admirably contrived, than the laws of England, as they are in my blessed times. I will engage that your people shall be incomparably better held to their duty, by seeing themselves in the absolute *power* of their honest *neighbours*, to be acquitted, or punished, as the matter may on examination appear, than has been known these many ages. There will be no opportunity for evading the *meaning* and *intention* of the law, when its meaning is expressed in six obvious words; and they, who are to judge the supposed transgressors of it, are puzzled by no *quirks* or *quibbles*; but are left at *large* to understand it, as they would themselves wish it to be understood, if ever they, or any of them,

them, should come to be accused of having violated it; and when they are to punish their fellow-citizen in the manner they may themselves expect to be punished, if found in the same circumstances of guilt. The case will be the same with respect to matters of *property*. Who will be injured by the tediousness, uncertainty, or expence of law, when there will be *no law*, at least no law capable of being *perverted*, nor any persons *interested* to pervert it. You will indeed hardly want more than one law concerning *meum* and *tuum*, viz. “Thou shalt not wrong thy neighbour in his property.” This will secure the subjects sufficiently from mutual injury; because the jury, or arbitrators, will, in all cases, however circumstanced, have one simple point only to determine, viz. Whether the plaintiff has been *wronged* in his property by his neighbour’s voluntary act; and, if he has, it is obvious, that he is to be redressed, and the author of the injury punished.

If you keep your *fleet* in good order, *registering* your sailors, so as they may be easily called to their respective ships, when wanted, from the merchants service, or how-

ever otherwise employed in time of peace; you will have no occasion for an *army* in *constant pay*; unless you be at a loss for posts and places, by which your court may have an opportunity of gratifying their creatures, and of enslaving you.

Keep up a *militia*; but not in our manner, who make them complete *soldiers*; and drive them, without intermission, from one end of the island to the other, as if we were conquering the country, to the utter loss of their labour, debauching their manners, dissolving their family-connexions, freeing them from shame, and disgusting them against their respective employments. Let them be exercised *one day* in each *month*, within their respective counties; and then return directly to their several places of abode. A small proportion of your men, and a very little military skill, will be sufficient. If you *manage* well, you will have no *riotings* to quell, nor many *prisoners* to guard. And as to *foreign attacks*, your *fleet* will be, under Providence, your best defence. It may not, however, be amiss, that the militia of the *maritime counties*, and sea-ports, be more numerous

numerous in proportion, and more frequently disciplined. This, as it will be an additional burden on those places, must be compensated by certain immunities and privileges.

If you do not find these directions of service, let CRITO bear the *blame*.

So much for matters of *civil* concern. Your own good sense will, I hope, supply what I have omitted in my former volume, and this. I will now give you a few rules for your conduct as to *religion*.

We, your pious predecessors, have been long labouring to *write*, and to *live*, our religion out of doors. We have made considerable advances in the *latter* way. As to the former, we have been doing our best to prove Christianity a mere *human invention*: but we have been a little puzzled to make out the *consistency* of a villainous plot for making mankind angels, and this world Heaven, by a set of wicked, amiable, designing, artless, selfish, disinterested, illiterate, profound impostors, who, from motives of worldly honours, pleasures, and wealth, gave themselves up to persecution and death, in order to establish their heaven-

descended false religion, consisting of a sett of fictions, which they themselves saw with their own eyes; which religion they accordingly did establish on the ruins of all those, which were then professed in the world, in spite of the corrupt dispositions of the unthinking people, the bigotry of interested priests, and the power of priest-led princes, without the use of worldly compulsion or allurement, for working on the hopes or fears of mankind, and in opposition to the utmost rage of persecution.

We have bestowed much honest pains in endeavouring to shew, that a sett of sordid *Jews* might naturally be expected to give the world a system of ethics and theology, whose *purity* and *sublimity* should make those of the *polite* and *learned Greeks* contemptible. We have tried to make out the *foretelling* of future *events* to have been only a *contrivance* of the authors of the Bible, who first *penned* the predictions, and then found means, many *centuries* after they were *dead*, to get them *fulfilled*. We have found no small difficulty in soldering up the flaws of this part of our scheme. We have
not

not, for instance, been able to account, in a completely satisfactory manner, how Moses, who lived, you know, above *three thousand years ago*, should, after he was *dead*, contrive to put the Jews of *our times* in the very condition, he foretold so long since ; a condition so very *singular*, that no nation, in any period, before or since, ever was in circumstances at all resembling theirs. It has likewise cost us, as the French say, a good deal of Latin to account how the prophets, who foretold, that Babylon and Tyre, the most flourishing cities then in the world, should not only be desolated, but should *never* be rebuilt ; have managed matters so, as to prevent their being rebuilt, without once stirring out of their graves to give any orders about the matter. So, likewise, we have lost much labour in endeavouring to make out, how he, who foretold, twenty centuries ago, that Egypt should never more be governed by a *native*, has contrived to *prevent* this from happening ; which would have effectually proved him a *false* prophet. We have been a good deal puzzled to account how we come to have the outlines of the

history of the *four* monarchies delineated by an impostor, before the *second* of the four existed; how we come to have a complete description of all the horrors of *popery* in books published many ages before that bloody religion came out of SATAN's brain; and these books written by *deceivers*. We have faithfully laboured to make out the author of the New-Testament-religion, either an *enthusiast* or an *impostor*. He must have been either one, or the other, you know, unless he was the true *Messiah*, which we eighteenth-century-folks do not care to admit. We have been at a loss to make him out an enthusiast: because *enthusiasts* do not produce *New Testaments*. And we have been as much distressed to prove him a deceiver: because deceivers, who take to the trade of religion-making, never fail to *turn* the *penny*; whereas the religion of the New Testament, as it stands in the book, detaches itself wholly from every *secular* advantage. These, and many other difficulties, have thrown themselves across our way, as we have been using our laudable endeavours to prove our religion an *imposture*. If however, you should, by
your

your extraordinary sagacity, come to find, in a satisfactory manner, and without any *place* left for *doubting*, that it is a mere *fiction*; burn your Bibles at once. But do not pretend to hold the christian religion *sacred*, while you make it *say* what it never meant, and *force your* arbitrary *interpretations* of it on *others*. Set up none of your blundering human-invented jargon, solemnly drawn out into articles, creeds, or confessions; nor pretend, I charge you, to call your absurdities sacred mysteries, or to palm them upon the ignorant people for divine truth, threatening them with *damnation* for rejecting your clumsy inventions. If God, or any celestial being commissioned by him, has spoken to mankind, I desire, that you will by no means pretend, in any *authoritative* manner, to alter the words spoken by them into any form contrived by you. The heavenly authors knew better than *you*, how to *express* themselves. Do not you therefore presume to establish any summaries, or compends, of their sublime sense. If there be a piece of *insolence* beyond all others, it is that of assuming to think for
others,

others as wise as ourselves, and of demanding *authoritatively* their *conforming* to our fantastic opinions ; it is that of pretending to believe a religion to be of *heavenly* original, and yet representing it as sent us *defective* and *unintelligible*, till *we* have vamped it up into our established formularies. There is a fatality attending the *makers* of religions ; that they have never yet brought out any thing of their *own*, that has not been big with *absurdity*. Witness the monstrous inventions of Heathenism, Mahometism, and Popery ; to which add all that is the production of human brains in the protestant schemes of religion. Be you, at last, wiser than your ancestors ; and do not attempt what is beyond the *reach* of *human capacity*.

Do not, I solemnly charge you, as you will answer it hereafter, do not *allure*, with the *temptation* of ecclesiastical *preferments*, the public dispensers of religion to prove themselves either weak, or wicked, at their first entrance into their sacred office. Do not, on any account, require their subscribing to an inconsistent *farrago* of human inventions. If they really believe your *absurdities*

DEDICATION. III

furdities (all *human* inventions in religion are *absurdities*) they will shew themselves totally *unqualified* for their function, which requires them to be *masters* of *reason*, that they may convince the opposers of truth. If they subscribe what they do not believe, they will shew themselves execrable *dissemblers*.

I desire, that there may not be among you so much as a shadow of *authority* in *religious* matters. If you be christians, stand in awe of him, who has said, "My kingdom is not of *this world*. The rulers of "the gentiles exercise *authority* over them. "But it shall not be so among you. Ye "are all *brethren*."

The pretence, That every society has a *right* to fix their terms of *admission*, will by no means bear you out in assuming a right to demand subscription to *human-invented* doctrines. The society of the christian church is not to be settled in *your* times. It is what the venerable Author was pleased to make it, two thousand years before you were born; not what every petty state, or every puny subdivision of religionists, think proper. *He had a right*
to

to fix terms of admission. He has given *you no authority* in any such matters. On the contrary, he has expressly *forbid* your assuming it. Please only to consider with yourselves, what an edifying sight it would be, if the apostle Paul were, in your times, to rise from the dead, to see your bishop of London refuse him admittance into the pulpit of the church, which bears his own name, till he should subscribe your formulary. Between you and me, I doubt, whether there is a formulary now extant, or that will be extant in your times, of *human* fabrick, to which the good apostle would set his hand.

Do not admit, much less encourage, in matters of so awful a nature, so gross an equivocation, as your clergy's pretending, that, in subscribing articles of faith, and declaring assent and consent, they neither mean articles of *faith*, nor *assent* nor *consent*; but only, a *promise*, that they will not disturb the *peace* of the church. If they mean a *promise*, and *no more*, let them write what they mean in *explicit terms*. And if any person among you impudently declares himself capable of *writing* one thing, while he

he *means* another, with a view to deception, or evasion, or worldly profit, I give you authority to advance him to the honour of the *pillory*, be he clergyman, or be he layman *.

Please only to observe what ridiculous lengths this execrable dissimulation, of subscribing what they do not believe, and understanding this subscription as a matter of *peace*, and not of *faith*, will carry your clergy. A subscriber through thick and thin declares his assent and consent to an article. Suppose this article to contain *two* points; *one* universally received, and fully *consistent* with your *religion*, and with
common

* Let this note immortalize CALEB FLEMING, a true hero; whose *steadiness* of principle (very different from what, if we may judge by their *fruits*, prevails in many, who would not deign to look on his lowliness) enabled him to resist the solicitations of a friend, for several months together, offering him a comfortable *living* in the church, which, on account of the tyrannical terms of *subscribing* to articles contrary to his belief, he could not, consistently with *honour*, accept; and this at a time when he and his wife had before their eyes the dismal prospect of *immediate* want of the essential *necessaries* of life.

CRITO MINOR.

common sense; the *other* an unintelligible *mystery*, which it is certain he does not *believe*, because no man ever *believed*, or *disbelieved*, what he did not *understand*. How are the people to *distinguish* between what he *believes*, and what he does *not believe*? He has subscribed the *whole* article. Upon the principle of subscribing what they partly believe, partly disbelieve, partly neither believe, nor disbelieve; what *security* does their subscription give you, that they believe any thing of *Christianity*? Do not then, I charge you, put people on signing and sealing their own damnation to answer *no conceivable purpose*.

Suppose you should have a sort of religionists arise among you resembling our *papists*; or suppose popery should hold till your times; how are your clergy, who have subscribed a sett of *mystical*, that is, *unintelligible* doctrines, which consequently may be either *true* or *false*, for aught they know; how, I say, are your mystery-subscribing clergy to defend themselves against subscribing the whole system of *popery*. Transubstantiation is, if you will take the papistical account of it, a *mystery*. The
R. Catholic

DEDICATION. 115

R. Catholic clergy subscribe it, not as what they *understand*, or can *defend*, but as a *mystery*. If, now, your twentieth-century-clergy subscribe *one* doctrine as a mystery, they may another. Then all *popery*, nay all *heathenism*, rushes in upon them like a flood. And these are to be the practices of your public *teachers of sacred truth*, these your *examples of unspotted integrity*. Look for no blessing from Heaven on your nation, while you suffer such shameless prevarication in those, whose characters ought to be *sacred*. If the *light* that is in you be *darkness*, how *great* will be that darkness! Let the candlesticks be of pure gold.

Let nobody persuade you, that *exposing* the *diffimulation* of your *clergy* (if they be found guilty of diffimulation in the matter of subscription) is wounding *religion*. That is no better than stale and baffled cant; which ought to be beneath the attention of your enlightened times. On the contrary, the detection of dissemblers, of *whatever denomination*, is taking the part of *truth* against her worst *enemies*; which is the indispensable *duty* of every wise and good man.

man. With a very ill grace, therefore, will your trimming clergy, if any such you have among you, pretend to lament the *decay of virtue and religion among the people*; while they *themselves*, by their scandalous dissimulation, set so execrable an *example*; giving the laity reason to suspect, that they are ready to declare assent and consent, to whatever is, by *authority*, proposed to them, how little soever they may *believe* of it.

Do not set up a scheme for *worldly* honours and advantages, a system of posts, places, and preferments, to be given to those who make a *trade of religion*, by those who *have no religion*, and call this worldly scheme a *holy church*.

A church is nothing more than a community of persons united together in affection and esteem, by their holding the same religion, and stands wholly unconnected with *secular* concerns. The combination of a set of idle and greedy men, who, supported by *power*, set themselves up for *lords* over the *consciences* of others, and who unite together, under the pretext of being religious *rulers*, for carrying on a sordid plan

plan of *power* and *riches*; is an execrable *conspiracy*, which all friends of mankind ought to join together to *overturn* from the *foundation*.

No matter from what precedents I draw my conclusions; but I will fairly tell you what will be the consequences of your setting up such a mixed-mungrel-spiritual-temporal-secular-ecclesiastical establishment. You will make the dispensers of religion *despicable* and *odious* to all men of sense, and will destroy the *spirituality*, in which consists the whole *value*, of religion. If you should cloath your bishops in lawn, from head to foot, people of true piety will cry,

“ Shame on those men, who have pervert-
 “ ed what was, by its heavenly Author,
 “ intended for *disengaging* mankind from
 “ riches, honours, and pleasures, to a
 “ trade in all that is sordid and luxurious!
 “ Wo be to those, who pretend to call
 “ themselves the *authorised successors* of him,
 “ who had not where to *lay his head*, and
 “ demand, as their hire for preaching, or
 “ for neglecting to preach, his pure reli-
 “ gion, the revenues of *princes*. Ill fare
 “ those worthless worldly men, who, in-
 “ stead

“stead of leading the people, both by
 “doctrine and example, to lay up for
 “themselves treasures in heaven, and not on
 “earth; set them the example of adding
 “field to field, and sum to sum, while
 “the poor are in want of bread*.”

Shew yourselves superior to all these follies and knaveries. Put into the hands of the *people* the clerical emoluments; and let them give them to whom they will; *choosing* their public teachers, and maintaining them decently, but *moderately*, as becomes their *spiritual* character. We have in our times a proof, from the conduct of some among us, in respect of the appointment of their public administrators of religion, that such a scheme will answer all the necessary purposes, and prevent infinite corruption;—*ecclesiastical* corruption; the most odious of all corruption.

Build

* It must be only *R. Catholic* bishops, the author means to reflect on. For our *English* Fathers of the church are notoriously of a contrary disposition. Accordingly two of those respectable persons, who died lately, left no more than three hundred thousand pounds to their heirs.

Build an impenetrable wall of *separation* between things *sacred* and *civil*. Do not send a *graceless* officer, reeking from the arms of his *trull*, to the performance of a *holy* rite of *religion*, as a *test* for his holding the command of a regiment. To *profane*, in such a manner, a religion, which you pretend to *reverence*; is an impiety sufficient to bring down upon your heads, the roof of the sacred building you thus defile.

If your leading men be not the great *encouragers* and *examples* of political wisdom, of sincere religion, and true virtue, but, on the contrary, the chief *tempters* of your people to debauchery and perjury; and the most notorious *despisers* and *mockers* at whatever is honourable, and whatever is sacred, I shall not think much more highly of you, than of the people of a certain distinguished age, which shall be nameless. Yet you ought to consider, that you will have a couple of centuries advantage of us, besides that of the many useful *lessons* we have set you, by our blunders, and our knaveries, the *number* of which, you must own, is not small; nor the edification you may,
with

with a little attention, obtain from the observation of their *effects* on us, and the state, in our times, inconsiderable. I hope, therefore, you will remember, that you will have more to answer for, than we shall, and that you will behave accordingly.

And now, do you know, my good future readers, what I have done? As sure as you are (or at least will be, two hundred years hence) alive, the *vivida vis animi* has hurried me on at such a rate, that I have absolutely thrown into this DEDICATION *all the matter*, which should have gone to the making of a whole ESSAY, and a great deal more. Accordingly, if you please to cast an eye upon the sixty-fifth page of my first volume, you will find, that I there promise, if this work should be carried on in farther volumes, to lay before the public what I might have farther to say on the grievances mentioned, page twenty-ninth. Little did I then think of throwing it, in this manner, into a DEDICATION. But what great author can restrain his pen, if it will run on?

I shall have no opportunity of knowing how you approve of these my sage advices,
till

DEDICATION. 121

till that awful day dawns, which will make us *all*, from the Adamic down to the Resurrection-century, *contemporaries*. I hope, however, you will be convinced of the absolute *purity* of my *intentions*, as you can hardly suppose, I have any *interested* expectations from *you*; it being seldom known, that *posterity*, at the distance of two ages, have done any great services to their *deceased* ancestors. I think, I may, therefore, without scruple, subscribe myself,

My good twentieth-century-Gentlemen

and Ladies,

Your *sincere* friend,

CRITO.

VOL. II.

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ESSAY

THE BOSTON

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ESSAY IV.

I HAVE, in the third Essay, collected, and compared the opinions of many eminent writers, antient and modern, on the difficulty of the temporary evil and disorder, we observe in the natural and moral world. I have pointed out the inconsistencies of those opinions with *one another*, of many of them with *themselves*, and of several of them with *truth*. I have shewn the falsity of the optimistical doctrine, which teaches, that this fallen ruinous world is not fallen, nor ruinous, and that even what is *morally* wrong, is not wrong upon the *whole*, therefore is not *really* wrong. I have shewn, that some writers, in opposition to the optimists, do acknowledge the *reality* of a temporary disorder prevailing in the present state of things, and are willing to allow that moral evil is, upon the *whole*, and to all intents and purposes, really and essentially evil. I have given some account of the solutions of the difficulty of the origin of evil, offered by those, who acknowledge the *reality* of the evil.

Having produced so much from *others*; which labour I imagined *might* prove acceptable to the reader (I well know it *ought*, if the sense of thinking men, of various ages, on interesting points, be worth knowing) it remains, that I lay before the public somewhat of *my own*. How satisfactory what follows may prove to the judicious, or whether they are likely to allow, that I have struck out any new light, I will not pretend to determine. All I request is, that men of *freedom* will be so kind as to *consider* what I offer, and that *bigots* will be so kind as *not to read* it.

First, it will, I suppose, be allowed, that the Divine nature is an assemblage of all possible consistent perfections; or, to speak more properly, immensity, eternity, infinite power, wisdom, goodness, &c. conceived of as necessarily inherent in a conscious Being, do together form the idea of the Divine essence, which is yet the most perfect and uncompounded unity, as comprehending the *whole* of perfection; and the *whole* can be but *one**.

THE Author of existence, the most *perfect* Being, must, in creating, have proposed the production of the most *perfect* work. The Creator must therefore have intended

* Though we, whose conceptions are narrow, and our views limited, are obliged to consider one attribute after another, yet we know, that the divine nature is not compounded of a plurality of attributes; but that the whole divine nature is powerful, the whole wise, the whole good, and so forth.

ed to exhibit in his universe the most complete display of *himself*: for He is the standard of perfection*.

It was, then, to be expected, that the universe should, in consequence of the omnipresence of its Author, be of immense extent; in consequence of his wisdom, should be a regular system, proceeding according to certain general laws, and in which causes should regularly produce their suitable effects; that, in consequence of his moral character of rectitude, it should exhibit a moral system of agents superior and subordinate, filling their respective stations, some more, others less important, and capable of virtue, and of suitable retribution.

THAT would be a less perfect work, which exhibited only one, or two, of the perfections of its author, than that which exhibited more, or all. That universe would be less worthy of its Creator, which exhibited power only, to however great a degree, than that which exhibited wisdom, as well as power. And that universe would be more worthy of an infinite Author, which exhibited a display of the divine *moral* attributes, than that which shewed forth only his *natural* perfections*.

WHAT.

* In the productions of men, as in poetry, painting, musical composition, architecture, oratory, and all the creative arts, we ever find the work suitable to the abilities of the author.

CRITO MINOR.

* The *moral* attributes of the Divine nature are, in him, as truly *natural* as those, we call so in the confined sense. It is, for instance, as essential to him to love justice, and

WHATEVER is most adorable in the *Creator*, is likely to be most conspicuously displayed in his *creation*. Whatever strikes most strongly the contemplative mind, when employed in viewing the divine *nature*, may be expected to make the most conspicuous figure in the eye, which examines his *productions*.

WHEN we, or when the flaming choirs of heaven, would celebrate, to the highest pitch, the praises of Him, whose nature comprehends all that is worthy of praise; we fix our attention, not so much on his omnipresence, his resistless power, or his all-comprehensive knowledge, as on his moral *rectitude*. This is the most divine attribute of the Divinity. His other perfections excite our admiration: his moral character is the delight, the veneration, the joy, the happiness, the trust, and the love of all rational minds throughout the universe.

It was to be expected, that the Creator would sooner neglect to display, in his productions, any, or all his other perfections, than his moral rectitude, the supreme excellence of his nature. An universe exhibiting much less of what is wonderful and striking, on account of greatness, or of contrivance, but in which there was a grand display of *virtue* in the inhabitants, would be more worthy of God to create, than a system exhibiting any possible measure of power and wisdom, but containing no *moral* beauties.

THE

to act according to its rules, whenever he is to act, as it is to be omnipotent or omniscient. In men, and probably in all created beings, virtue is the effect of reason, consideration, education, example, habit, experience, &c. Moral goodness in God, is not an *effect*: It is an inseparable *essential*.

CRITO MINOR.

THE universe could not have exhibited a complete display of the *moral* character of God any other way, than by his creating *moral agents*, capable of distinguishing between good and evil, of choosing the former, and rejecting the latter, and of resembling him in *moral* perfection, in which he would rather choose to see his creatures resemble him, than in any, or all others.

THE moral part of the universal system is as much superior, in importance, to the natural, as the soul is to the body. Innumerable suns, with systems of worlds revolving round each of them, and secondary worlds again whirling round each of these, with such velocities, as make imagination giddy; these are only stupendous gimcracks, or play-things for infant angels, (if any such there were) when compared with the importance of a *moral system* of beings improving under the government of the Supreme, and rising for ever to higher degrees of perfection in that which is most excellent in the most excellent nature. The universe would not therefore, comparatively speaking, have been worth creating, had there been no *moral agents* to have inhabited it.

It would be more worthy of God to produce an universe containing *moral agents*, who should rise to high attainments in *virtue*, though the *happiness* attainable by them should be *inconsiderable*, than an universe inhabited by beings, who should exist only to enjoy happiness.

Every created being is greater according as he rises to a nearer resemblance to his Creator, especially in those particulars which constitute the peculiar excellence of the divine nature. Do we not render to the one Su-

preme his highest praise, when we ascribe to him the perfection of *rectitude*? Is it equally honouring him, to ascribe to him the most perfect *happiness*? If it be, then EPICURUS's gods are equal to the true*. It is equally adorable to lie on a cloud, and quaff nectar, without giving the least attention to the affairs of the world, as to act the wise and righteous Governor, the rewarder of virtue, and punisher of vice throughout the universe of moral agents. It is as good to suffer universal tyranny to prevail over oppressed innocence, as to render to every one according to his works.

THE common theory, therefore, which represents the Divine scheme, in creating moral agents, to have been merely, to communicate the greatest *happiness*, as if communicating the greatest happiness were the most *important* object, and as if there were no other possible means of communicating great happiness; this manner of representing the Divine scheme in creating moral agents, is too narrow, and misleads into difficulties avoidable by a more just explanation of it, as will, I trust, by and by appear.

THERE is no necessity, in the present deduction, for making it a question, Whether the *greatest happiness* is the natural consequence of the *greatest virtue*? Whether this be granted, or denied, the necessity of the Creator's

* Omnis enim per se divom natura necesse est
Immortali ævo summâ cum pace fruatur,
Semota a nostris rebus sejunctaque longe,
Nec bene pro meritis capitur, nec tangitur irâ.

LUCRET.

Creator's proposing to replenish his universe with *moral agents* will remain the same, as arising from the Divine *nature*, which, being *moral*, rendered it impossible, that the Creator should not propose to produce moral agents, with the single and *ultimate* view of their becoming *like to himself* in that which is his greatest glory, viz. *moral rectitude*. Yet no one can, I think, have any doubt, concerning the necessary connexion, in the nature of things, between virtue and happiness. But this we have at present no concern with. All I would urge is, That the Creator, being himself a *moral agent*, and his moral character being his *supreme* excellence, he could not but propose to create *moral Agents*, as *such*, exclusive of the consequences respecting their happiness. Because, whatever their *happiness* should eventually prove to be, their *merit* must, if they behaved well, come to be great; and if they should even have partly failed of happiness (which yet could not happen) they might attain what is more *important*, viz. *moral rectitude of disposition*.

To say, that any scheme must of course have appeared to the Creator the best, which produced the greatest *happiness*, merely because it produced the greatest happiness, would be saying, That the supreme Being looks on happiness as of greater *consequence* than rectitude. But this is so far from being a right state of the case, that it is certain, every good *man* (the goodness of *men*, is, God knows, moderate enough) would choose rather to be more virtuous, and less happy, than more happy, and less virtuous, (a man is, in fact, more or less virtuous, according as he more or less sincerely loves virtue for its *own sake*) much more would an an-

gel choose in the same manner *; and most of all would He, whose rectitude is absolutely perfect, choose rather to see his universe filled with supremely virtuous, though less happy beings, than with superlatively happy, but less virtuous beings, were this possible.

To alledge, therefore, that the Author of existence intended his highest creatures *moral* agents, merely with a view to their attaining the greatest *happiness*, which is the universal doctrine of writers on the subject; is not this saying, That he, who sees all things as they are, considers immutable and eternal rectitude, the prime excellence of any being, created or uncreated, as *valuable*, not for its *own sake*, but in consideration merely of its being the tallest ladder to climb to the most exalted height of *happiness* †?

HAD

* Methinks I hear (auditis? an me ludit amabilis error?) One of those celestials pouring forth the following rapture:
 “ O glorious, immutable, and ever amiable rectitude! prime
 “ ornament of every rational nature; supreme ornament
 “ of the Supreme! take thou possession of this soul. Diffuse thy excellence through every faculty. Let thy un-
 “ created beam brighten my nature, and beautify it with
 “ the original beauty of the Divinity; that in my lower
 “ sphere, I may resemble the all-perfect nature in that
 “ chiefly, which is the chief of the divine perfections. Let
 “ the measure of my *felicity*, in my present, or whatever
 “ future states of existence may await me, prove more de-
 “ ficient, or more abundant; but let my *virtue* be with-
 “ out alloy and without limit; let it never know change,
 “ or defection, but go on improving and increasing to
 “ eternity.”

CRITO MINOR.

† If the reader is desirous of settling on a sure foundation his notions of the nature, essence, and supreme importance

HAD the communication of *happiness* been the Creator's *ultimate* object, I see not, but that he could, and certainly, would, have *excluded* all *evil* and disorder, both moral and natural, from his universe. And here, precisely, it is, if I mistake not, that the antient difficulty, and universal error, concerning the origin of evil, enters. Reasoners on the subject, imagining nothing necessary for the Author of the universe to attend to, but the bestowing of *happiness* on his creatures, wonder how it comes to pass, that so much promiscuous *misery* prevails in the world. They tenaciously maintain the notion, that beings are formed *moral* agents, merely with a view to their attaining the greatest *happiness*. Yet they find, that *freedom*, indispensably necessary to *moral* agency, is the foundation of great irregularity and consequent *misery*. Then they go to work to unrealise this misery, and bewilder themselves in accounting, in a false

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and

portance of moral rectitude, and of seeing its immutability, and independence on what some writers love to call a *moral sense* (though they might as well talk of an arithmetical, or chemical sense) demonstrated, let them carefully peruse *A Review of the chief Difficulties in Morals*, &c. by the Rev. RICHARD PRICE; printed for A. Millar, in the Strand: In which he will find as much close reasoning, as ever has been put into the same room by any writer, not excepting Mr. LOCKE himself; and when the reader has edified himself by the book, let him go, and build up his own morals on as sure a foundation. Left it should be alledged, that CRITO is capable of flattery, I will add, that, if this author should write twenty books, each of them as much superior to his *Review*, as that is to the general run of books, they will not be worth a shilling, if compared with the value of his own pure and exemplary life.

and inconsistent way, for what is fully explicable on right principles. Had happiness alone, and as *ultimate*, been the object, it was easy to exclude evil. But the case is very different, when, not *happiness*, as *ultimate*, but *virtue*, as *ultimate*, is the object. Moral agency is not necessary, nor indeed any *agency*, to happiness. It is indispensably necessary to improvement in *virtue*. All that is absolutely necessary to happiness, or to misery, is *sensibility*. The highest degrees of sensibility, exclusive of every thing else, render the being capable of the highest happiness, or the most exquisite misery. For, in suffering pain, or enjoying pleasure, the mind is totally *passive*.

IF the communication of happiness had been the Creator's only object, the shortest way to that end would have been, to have bestowed it *freely*, and *separately*, not by way of *retribution*, nor *socially*; which has eventually rendered the happiness of some individuals, who have come within our knowledge, precarious, and even *abortive*, in consequence of its depending on their *own behaviour*, and in part on their *connexions* with *fellow creatures*. If the single point had been to bestow the greatest happiness, the Author of existence would have at once exerted that command, which he undoubtedly has over all minds, by which he can, at his pleasure, ravish and transport them in a manner, and to degrees, by us, and all finite minds, inconceivable.

THE whole that is necessary to happiness is, a *conscious* being's feeling or *enjoying* what, by his peculiar *make* (which is merely *arbitrary*, while morality is immutable and eternal) is *fitted* to give him *pleasure*. Mere *consciousness* is, therefore, all that is necessary to give a being

ing a *capacity* of happiness. We do accordingly receive some of our most transporting enjoyments from causes altogether unconnected with morality; as the whole of what is comprehended under the general head of the pleasures of the imagination.

It is true, that we do enjoy a still more sublime and exquisite pleasure, in reflecting on our own good behaviour. The *mens sibi conscia recti* is the most elegant feast we can feed on. But yet the *pleasure* is not the chief thing in virtue. No truly good man does a good action, merely with the *selfish* view to his receiving, from the reflexion on it, an exquisite *pleasure*. He does good because it is *right* to do good. He does not shoot at the *prize*; but at the *mark*. It is with the pleasure arising from reflexion on our having behaved well, as it is with that which we receive from the approbation of the wise and good around us. We enjoy a high satisfaction in seeing our behaviour approved by judges of behaviour. But whence does this satisfaction arise? Not from the *approbation* of others merely. For, the ingenuous mind, which is conscious, that, in a particular instance, the approbation is *undeserved*, so far from receiving any *satisfaction*, is *hurt* by it. The whole pleasure, which an honest mind receives from the public applause, arises merely from its seeing the judgment of *others* confirm its *own*. He, who pursues fame for its *own sake*, and he, who does good (if any such there be) only with a view to the *pleasure* he expects to enjoy from it, are both gone erroneous from that which constitutes true *merit*.

MORAL rectitude, and *happiness*, are totally *different* things. There may be great virtue, where there is little happiness, as when a good man is racked with the
gout,

gout, or stone; and great happiness, no way connected with virtue, as in the possession of any beloved object whatever.

THESE can, therefore, I think, be no doubt, but Omnipotence could, physically speaking, have filled his universe with beings inexpressibly happy; and yet such a production would not have been worthy of its Author. If happiness consists merely in the *sensation* (I do not mean through the mediation of a *body* only) of what is *delightful*, Omnipotence could have given to any living being, whether endowed with a capacity for moral agency or not, any possible degree of *sensibility*, and all possible variety of gratifications. Yet such natures, so far from being of the great and noble rank, and of the importance in the universe, which angels are, and men (if Scripture be true) may come to be; would comparatively be at best but elegant epicures. But moral agency is indispensably necessary to the very possibility of the creature's becoming *amiable* and *valuable*, filling an illustrious and important station, and being one of the prime ornaments of the universe. If therefore the Creator intended a production, which should exhibit a great and general display of himself, and especially of his supereminent attribute of rectitude, he could not avoid admitting the *possibility* of *evil's* entering into his world (though the *smallest* quantity of it is in every view thoroughly *odious* to *himself*) if any free agent should prove wicked enough to introduce it. As *omnipotent*, he can *prevent* any thing displeasing to himself; for his power is equal to the annihilation of the universe. As a *moral* Governor, he *cannot* prevent his creatures from doing evil, if they be obstinately bent

bent upon it ; for, they may *reject* all moral motives to goodness, and determents from evil. They must, if intended for moral agents, have *power* to do *evil* ; because they must have *power* to do *good* ; and for this latter, *greater* power is requisite, than for the former. To say, God has not used all proper moral means for deterring his free creatures from vice, would be blasphemy.

LET us therefore conclude, that the Author of existence could not, being what he is, have proposed to himself an universe, without chiefly intending moral agents capable of rectitude, merely on account of the *value* and *importance* of such beings ; whatever should prove the consequence, as to the happiness of those moral agents ; though it was at the same time certain, that great happiness would prove the result. *Moral* agents necessarily requiring *freedom* to choose good or evil, they might, notwithstanding any preventive means, which could be used, come to deviate into vice.

No one will argue, I imagine, that the Creator ought to have *prevented* the possibility of the entrance of moral *evil* into his universe by resolving not to give *existence*. This would be alledging, that he ought (with reverence I speak) to have prevented the entrance of so great a *beauty* into his universe, as is, and has been, and will be exhibited by multitudes of highly virtuous characters, merely for the sake of preventing the attendant blemish of vice and self-sought destruction introduced by a *few* wretched *individuals*. Yet, what prince establishing a new kingdom, or settlement, would hesitate about peopling his new dominion, merely be-
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cause

cause he foresaw, that in a rich and populous state, it was to be expected, that, in spite of all the laws, and all the regulations, which could be framed by himself, or by all the legislators on earth, and all the angels in Heaven, many irregularities would arise; which irregularities it were on all accounts to be *wished* might be prevented, but cannot without putting all the subjects in *confinement*; which is inconsistent with the very idea of *government*.

I HAD occasion, in the former volume, page 196, to mention a difficulty connected with the subject of this paragraph, and which I find, I have not solved to the full satisfaction of some readers. I must therefore beg leave to retouch it. The difficulty is, to account why the supreme Governor, who has a perfect *præscience* of the future conduct of his moral creatures, has not *prevented* those *individuals* from coming into existence, which, he foresaw, would *transgress* the eternal rules of rectitude, and bring vice and consequent misery into his world. The clearing up of this difficulty depends on this single consideration, that there must always be supposed a *new* and *different* *præscience* for every *new number* of moral agents. Suppose what you will to be foreseen of the conduct of one thousand millions. The same *præscience* concerning the *individuals*, who *remain*, will not answer, when a million are *deducted*. Nor will the *deducting* of any particular *sett* of individuals *assure* the prevention of vice among those who remain. So that it was an impossibility to prevent misbehaviour by the mere contrivance of preventing any particular *sett* of *individuals* from coming into existence. It was, for instance, foreseen, that NERO would prove a tyrant. Does it follow, that if NERO had not existed, there
had

had not been as many tyrants on the imperial throne of Rome, as we know there were. Suppose the line of Roman Emperors had not been JULIUS, AUGUSTUS, TIBERIUS, &c. but a set of *different* names and men, is it certain, that they must have all been TRAJANS and TITUS's? We take it for granted, that, if those very *individuals*, who in the *integral* number of mankind, have proved the *offenders*, had been left out, there would have been *no offenders*. But nothing can be more groundless, than this assumption. For, in the *diminished* number, it is certain, that *other* individuals would have fallen into those stations, circumstances, and temptations, which would have been left empty by the deduction of those, who were deducted. So that the result, after all possible deductions, must ever have been, as I have stated it, Vol. I. p. 197. That there could have been *no* assignable large number of *free* agents, of whom it could have been with certainty foreseen, that *none* of them would have deviated.

THERE is, therefore, no difficulty in accounting, how moral evil, really, and as far as it goes *purely* and without mixture, *hurtful* and *mischievous*, has made its way into the universe. Moral agents were made on purpose to be *moral*, that is *free*. They have deviated, and might, and probably would have deviated, less or more, in whatever circumstances they had been placed, excepting only the circumstances of absolute *privation* of freedom, in which it is a *contradiction* to suppose them placed. But it must be owned, there is a seeming difficulty in accounting, how a set of once *wise*, *holy*, and *happy* angels should come to deviate into such *atrocious* guilt, as that which scripture charges on the grand Enemy, and his rebellious party.

Yet,

Yet, with a little attention to analogy, and what we know of our own species, this phenomenon will appear less astonishing. That beings, possessed of eminent *powers of mind*, should come to be *wickedly* disposed, is so far from being inconceivable, that we know, great *capacity* is but very slenderly connected with *goodness* of disposition. That beings endowed with sublime capacities, should become proud, arrogant and rebellious against lawful authority, and that they should persist in this determinate obstinacy for a great length of time; will not seem very wonderful to any one, who considers the proficiency made by some of our earth-born dæmons, who are but of *yesterday*. When we see a reptile, that has not crawled upon the earth forty years, arrive at such a pitch of infernality, as to wish for the power of cutting off the heads of fifty millions of its fellow-creatures at a blow, ought we to wonder at *Satan's* making, in *many thousands* of years, such improvements in wickedness, as to set up for the *Ἀπολλων*, the destroyer of a world? Moral agents are ever *advancing* either in virtue or vice. A being, who once departs from virtue, the longer he travels, the farther he distances himself from all that is good, and the farther he advances into evil. And how far may that being, who has been for so many ages, travelling on, with his back on goodness, be, by this time, got out of the reach even of repentance and reformation?

My readers must either believe or disbelieve the existence, and influence of the grand Enemy. If they believe it, they are not at a loss to account for the *possibility* of such a *degeneracy*; because they hold it for a *fact*. If they do not believe it, and if the *improbability*

lability of the rebellion of *such a being* as Satan, is with them an objection of such great weight; they will find it at least as difficult to account for a BORGIA or a CATILINE, as for a SATAN or a BEELZEBUB.

IT is not to be imagined, that SATAN, or any other being endowed with reason, could ever engage in an enterprize of such desperation as a formal rebellion against the supreme Majesty of the universe, with the direct view of opposing, and the hope of prevailing against Omnipotence. But there is no greater difficulty in conceiving of hostilities arising among subordinate beings of *high* rank, than among those of *lower* stations. There is nothing unnatural in imagining an ancient *hatred* and *jealousy* on the part of SATAN against the MESSIAH, in consequence of a just superiority assumed by the latter over the former. The grounds of this superiority might be questioned by the former. Hence might arise contests and dissensions, which might be carried on in ways to us, in general, unknown and inconceivable. One of the grand Enemy's feats of hostility might be, wrecking his vengeance on this part of the MESSIAH's dominion, in order to bring him into distress and inconvenience in undoing the effects of his malice.

IF it be said, "The divine presence extends to all
 " places, so that he *knows* what wickedness is, at
 " any time, meditating by any of his creatures, in any
 " part of his universe, and being absolute *master* of
 " all *minds*, has it in his power to *turn* them, at his
 " pleasure, from their wicked purposes;" and that
 therefore we ought to suppose, he would do so, if vice
 were

were really as *disagreeable* to him, as some represent it; particularly, in the case now before us, of the grand hostility; to this objection, the answer is obvious. viz. This would be effectually *depriving* the creature of his *liberty*. Here appears the justness of the doctrine, I would establish, viz. That God *ultimately* intended *moral* agents, as such; not *happy* beings as such. If the creature was only to be happy, he might have been *irresistibly* led to his happiness, and *fixed* in it: If he was to be *moral*, he must *walk* by *himself*, which supposes the possibility of his going astray, and of his going any conceivable lengths in wickedness.

THE divine intention being once supposed to be, to give to moral agents *liberty*, in order to their spontaneously *choosing* virtue; we must not, in our reasonings, wheel round, and say, he ought to *compel* them to be virtuous. What image of the divine *spontaneous* and un-compelled goodness would be exhibited by a creature powerfully led, or driven, into a particular course of action? The end to be gained was, the accomplishing of the being, to a high degree, in goodness of *disposition*, without direct regard to consequent happiness; not merely enabling him, by certain methods, to attain *happiness*. There is the same difference between these two views, as between the views of two fathers, both of which have taken care to have their sons accomplished in science; but the design of one was to enable his son, by his accomplishments, to maintain himself, while the other meant only to give his son a liberal education, in order to his enjoying, with the better grace, the fortune he intended for him.

IF it be urged, that, since *moral* motives do not *compel* agents into a course of action, any force of moral motives might have been *expected* to have been applied, rather than God's universe should be thus defaced and deformed by vice; that we can imagine a variety of moral motives, which have *never* been *used*, at least with our species, and that it may even be questioned, whether there may not be imagined such an application of moral means in the way of education, instruction, and discipline, as should prevent, or get the better of, *any conceivable* wrong dispositions in any species of moral agents; on these points, it is to be considered, that the *divine* agency is not like that of *created* beings. We must not think of the infinite Mind as accommodating itself, by *detached* acts of government, to the peculiar case of every untowardly *individual*. The agency of the Deity must be, like himself, *universal*, not *particular*. It is likewise to be observed, that in some cases a species, or an individual, may go such lengths as to render themselves *unworthy* of any means of reformation. That, in any possible constitution, beings may be conceived to come into peculiar circumstances, in which they may not be in the way of the very *greatest possible* advantages for virtue. If their advantages are sufficient, and if they are free from such direct *byasses* to *vice*, as our fallen species at present labours under, there is no room left for complaint. It would be a strange way of reflecting on even *human* government, to accuse it, because a certain miscreant, who was the son of very ignorant and ill-disposed parents, was brought up in such a manner, that he could scarce be expected to come to any thing better, than the gallows,

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and did accordingly end his days at Tyburn. Yet we do not suppose the government to be *pleased* with the death of a subject by the hands of justice; nor do we suppose, there is *no harm* in such a catastrophe; nor do we dream of the government's intending, or voluntarily permitting it. All that we conclude is, that the government *could not* (acting as a government) hinder it.

It may likewise, perhaps, be urged, that what prevails in *part*, even in this disorderly world of ours, might have been made to have taken place *universally*. Every *vice* stands originally connected with its proper *punishment*, and every *virtue* with its proper *reward*. How comes it to pass, that in so many instances this *connexion fails*, and, by so failing, leaves the cause of virtue at such disadvantage? Is it not to be wondered, that the supreme Governor did not appoint, that inviolably, in all worlds, and in all periods, an *immediate*, *never-failing*, and completely adequate punishment should tread on the heel of guilt? What rational being would, in compliance with the most *powerful* temptation ever heard of, dare to transgress a second time, if his first offence had brought on him a fit of the stone of seven years duration; and, if he knew, that his returning to the same folly would subject him to the same suffering during the space of twenty years?

THE answer to all this is, our world's being in a fallen and *ruinous* state. In a regular and flourishing world, whose state is no way *altered* from that, in which it came out of the hands of the Maker, *adequate* reward and punishment may be supposed at all times *constitutionally* to follow immediately upon the good or bad action.

action. In fallen and *disorderly* worlds, *disorder* is to be *expected*. And the *delay* of adequate reward and punishment, and prevalency of *promiscuous* happiness and misery, are a very considerable part of this *disorder*. The advantages for virtue in such worlds as have *continued* in the regular and *orderly* state, in which they were originally *constituted*, are probably much greater than in this *ruinous* spot, in which we happen to have come into existence. But in no world, or state, ought moral, or other means to be so *forcible*, as to break in upon the free *choice* of, and attachment to, virtue for its *own* sake more than its *reward*, and ingenuous horror at vice for its intestine *deformity*, more than its *penal* consequences; in which disposition consists the whole *merit* of moral agents.

IF our state be fallen and *ruinous*, and by consequence peculiarly *disadvantageous* for virtue, we have on the contrary, peculiar *advantages*, as *informations*, supernaturally brought us from Heaven, &c. Yet it must be confessed, that we are grievous *sufferers* in this, as in other respects, by the malice of our mighty Enemy. How could we be a fallen *ruined* order of beings, and not be *sufferers*? Nor is there any *blame* chargeable, but on the grand *Enemy*. For he, as all other moral agents, must have been *free*, in a world created on purpose for *free* beings, a theatre for *action*, on which moral beings were to acquire *virtuous dispositions* and *habits*, in order to their becoming images of supreme moral excellence. God made him free. How could he have made him otherwise? He made himself wicked. Where then falls the blame, but on himself?

ON the principles here laid down, and, in my opinion, on no others, viz. Of the Creator's intending ultimately a world of *moral* and *virtuous*, not of merely *happy* beings, the existence of *moral* evil in the universe is accounted for, acknowledging it to be properly *evil*, upon the *whole*, and in every *sense* of the *word*; the smallest, as well as the greatest quantity of it, diametrically *opposite* to the *divine intention*; highly *displeasing* to immutable *goodness*; the means of *no real advantage* in the universe, but what would have arisen much *better without* it; and producing, as far as it prevails, a *deformity no way compensated*, but *lessening finally*, and *irretrievably*, the quantity of *good*, and of *beauty*, which *otherwise* would have existed in the universe; though still leaving *enough* to render it highly *worthy* of *divine wisdom* and *goodness* to have *created* the universe.

THE *natural* evil, which appears in this our little ruinous spot, is accounted for by pursuing the same series of reasoning. We know, that our *visible* fellow-creatures produce astonishing scenes of distress in our world. If we have *invisible* fellow-creatures, the otherwise unaccountable distresses, we see prevalent in our world, may be the effect of their agency. Of which see page 257 of the first volume.

I AM sensible, that our *modern* theory has almost annihilated the Devil. But my point is, to shew, that the scheme of the origin of evil, and of our future deliverance from it, as contained in the *old Book*, is intelligible and rational. And, when our *modern esprits*
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forts have urged all they can against the notion of our world's being injured by an invisible Enemy, their reasonings will amount to no more, than those of a person ignorant of history, who should, *a priori*, argue, that it was impossible, one *single mortal*, of no more than six feet high, a NERO, or a CALIGULA, should enslave *fifty millions* of his fellow-creatures, every one of them his *equal* in bodily strength.

It is become fashionable to think the agency of *invisible* beings highly irrational. Yet it happens, that we do not know of any one *original* agent, I mean, a *beginner* of agency, who is *not invisible*. Matter is, by its very *essence*, incapable of *beginning* agency. *Visibility* is not therefore necessary to *power*; nor *invisibility* incompatible with it. On the contrary, of the two, what is visible is, *a priori*, most likely to be inert and inactive; and what is invisible to be powerful and active. Our divines think, they do abundant honour to evil spirits, when they allow them to be of so much consequence, as to have sometimes *tempted* wickedly disposed men, to be a little more mischievous than they would otherwise have been.

To understand SATAN as the proper *physical* cause of the ruin of our world, accounts for our world's being in a ruinous state. And the necessity of his being left *free* to sin, because the design of creating him and all other *moral* agents, was, to enable them, not merely to be at any rate happy; but to become illustrious for *virtue*; this clears the supreme Governor from all imputation;

putation, and solves the difficulty of the origin of evil. But to understand SATAN as a mere *tempter* solves nothing.

I SHOULD be glad to know what authority our divines have to allow *one* part of the Scripture-account of SATAN, and reject *another*. There is as much in Scripture of his character as a prince, a ruler, a warrior, an enemy, a God; as of a tempter, or deceiver. And as it is only in Scripture, that we have any account of that mighty being, and as without Scripture, we should not have had so much as a suspicion of his existence; it seems to me unaccountable, that divines should pretend to cut and carve on a mere doctrine of revelation; when there is in fact nothing more difficult to conceive in SATAN'S acting as a *destroyer*, than as a *tempter*. One is as real agency as the other. How, indeed, can we conceive of a being of superior rank (which he certainly is, if he exists at all) who has not, nor ever had, any power, but what was merely *moral*, and might have been resisted. What sort of tyrant would that prince be, who had no power to hurt, but by tempting? Every *subject* has that power. If it be said, Whatever power SATAN may be supposed to have, it does not follow, that he has any in *our world*, to which he is a *foreigner*; to this the answer is to be collected from what has been above, in the third Essay, advanced in proof of his power in our world, with what will occur in the sequel; but especially from Scripture, in which the very *mention* of such a being would have been impertinent, if we had no concern with him. Yet, on the modern scheme, both

SATAN's agency and CHRIST's, come out to be of so very little consequence, that they hardly produce any effect, which would not have been produced, if neither the one nor the other of these superior beings had ever existed. For, according to the fashionable divinity, all that SATAN did, was only tempting. And, if mankind had resisted his temptations, but had of themselves deviated into vice, *death* would have followed, and the *divine* goodness would have *raised* the *dead*, and *pardoned* the *penitent*. In the same manner, according to our modern divinity, all that CHRIST does, is only teaching mankind virtue. But how then are we to understand the wonderful scene of confusion, we have before our eyes? If the state, we are now in, be not *peculiar*, and the effect of peculiar *subordinate* agency, how are we to account for this visible *contrariety* of procedure, this promiscuous suffering, to be hereafter redressed by future adequate retribution; this disorder hereafter to be reduced; this ruin hereafter to be repaired?

Does supreme wisdom govern moral worlds by ruining and restoring, by killing, and raising from the dead, by afflicting and delivering? Do we not, in all other cases, where we see a contrariety of design, conclude there are contrary wills, and contrary powers, *physical* as well as *moral*, concerned? And what can be more contrary, than the originally intended paradisiacal and immortal state of man, set against his present ruined and mortal state, or his present ruined and mortal state opposed to his future restored and glorified state?

THE universal plan of moral government in all worlds must be founded in adequate and immediate reward *constitutionally* consequent on good behaviour, and adequate and immediate punishment on the contrary. There can be nothing in the original and *unaltered* state of things, to *delay*, to *lessen*, or *increase*, retribution, either remunerative, or penal, so as it shall prove to be above, or below, what is *adequate*, or shall not arrive in due time. Wherever, therefore, promiscuous happiness and misery prevail, there, undoubtedly, there is somewhat gone into deviation. Ruinous as our world is, we see the original traces of a regular moral oeconomy still remaining, though, in many particulars, defaced, and though liable to fail in innumerable instances. In a ruinous pile of building, the eye of an architect knows how to trace out the whole of the original plan by means of the parts, which devouring time has spared. From what we see remaining of a *constitutionally* pre-established connexion between vice and misery, and between virtue and happiness *, we have reason to suppose, that, in the *original* state of this world, this connexion was regular and *unbroken*; and that, had not the grand Enemy gained an ascendancy, and brought disorder into our world, whenever any person had *offended*, the naturally-connected and adequate *punishment* of his transgression would have immediately *followed*, and would, generally-speaking, have made him relinquish his bad practices; so that vice, most probably, never could have spread, in our world, *undebauched* by SATAN, to any extent. Our species
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* See BUTLER's *Analogy*.

would then, of course, have *continued* to enjoy the *paradisiacal* state, in which this world was created, and for which it was *intended*. In that original state of things, there would, probably, have been no *unavoidable* pain, or sickness; no necessity of animal food; no racking childbirth pang; no yawning grave, devouring promiscuously all ages, and extinguishing the sweet light of life, as soon as it was kindled. In that happy world, there would, probably, have been no pinching want; the generous Earth would have maintained her children without requiring of them the labour of slaves. Our world had not, probably, been deluged by a tempestuous ocean, covering the greatest part of its surface, rolling its waves to the height of mountains, and presenting to the terrified sight, an image of chaos returned. Nor, probably, had nature been shaken by these pole-rending thunders, nor the solid globe turned inside out by these city-ruining earthquakes; nor the habitations of men, with the fruits of the earth, whirled through the air by these sweeping hurricanes; nor half the human species at a time precipitated into the grave by these wide-wasting pestilences, the ravagers of our wretched world.

SOME writers think they find in Scripture, a future restoration of the original paradisiacal state of the Earth, as it was, when ADAM first knew it. That this restoration is to succeed to that period, when the grand Enemy is so effectually subdued, as to leave this world un-influenced by his hostile malice. One De BIONANT, of Geneva, (to say nothing of Dr. BURNET, WHISTON, &c.) has pursued these views a considerable length, tracing them out in the *Apocalypse*; where he under-

stands the thousand years reign of CHRIST on earth, to be the paradisaical state restored, and supposes it is to continue during an immense period; no less than three hundred and sixty thousand years. He argues, that a day in prophetic style signifies a year; that the antients reckoned three hundred and sixty days to a year; that if the prophetic thousand years of happiness, the reign of CHRIST on earth, is to be understood to signify no more than one thousand solar years, the reign of the *wild beast* (popery) will be *longer* than that of CHRIST, which he thinks hard to suppose. He urges, that as all commentators understand the twelve hundred and sixty days, the reign of the wild beast, to be so many years, it would be breaking through the rule hitherto always observed in explaining prophecy, to understand the thousand years literally. He thinks, so long a period of restored happiness as three hundred and sixty thousand years, appears probable, and suitable to divine wisdom, in order to compensate the malice of the grand Enemy. For, supposing such a renovation to take place, the five or six thousand years of disorder brought on by him at the beginning will be, comparatively, but an inconsiderable interruption of the original scheme; will quickly be forgot, as bearing no more proportion to the whole duration of the world, the period taken in by the original plan, than five or six years of sickly infancy, to a healthy life of three hundred and fifty-four years.

HOWEVER these lesser particulars are to be understood, there seems to be nothing irrational in understanding the intention of Revelation to have been chiefly for the purpose of informing us of the fact
(which

(which otherwise we should not have known) that our world is in a fallen state, and is hereafter to be restored. And it is only in *Scripture* that we have a distinct, unmixed, and rational *solution* of the great question, Ποθεν το κακον. From *Scripture*, most probably, as above observed, it is, that the opinion of the existence of various invisible beings of different characters, exercising hostilities against one another, and thereby producing important effects in our world (an idea not likely to arise of itself in the human mind) was originally drawn, and has in all ages and nations, and in every species of religion, prevailed; as I have pretty largely shewn in the third Essay, page 217 to 256.

To undo and *abolish* the effects of this invisible hostile agency seems to be the whole of *Redemption*. This is the *one* grand exploit performed by the celestial Hero, in comparison with which all those of our histories, and epic poems, are as much inferior in importance, as the conquering of a mortal reptile, a tyrannical king, or emperor, who, in a few years, must have dropped into the dust, is inferior to the subduing of an immortal spirit, perhaps millions of immortal spirits, the least of which, as MILTON says, could wield these elements and arm him with all their force; as much inferior as the delivering one single nation from a tyranny, from which death would soon have set them free, is inferior in importance to the rescue of a whole species from total and final extinction in death; nay, from somewhat perhaps incomparably more to be dreaded than extinction. For, what the effects might

have been of the wanton malice of those mighty ravagers, the hostile spirits, let loose, uncontrouled, upon our species, like a ruffian army led on by an enraged tyrant, and just broke into a city taken by storm (if we may compare great things with small!) how dreadfully tedious the effects of such fury might have proved, without the friendly interposition of our illustrious Patron, what imagination, besides that of SATAN himself, can conceive!

IT may, perhaps, here be enquired, how we are to understand the *wisdom* and *goodness* of the universal Governor, as *leaving* the fate of a world so much in the *power* of a *malignant being*, this dreadfully extensive power being only *balanced* by that of his *opposer*, whose interposition in our favour was absolutely *free*, and therefore no otherwise to be *depended* upon, than as it might be expected, that he would not suffer his world to be utterly destroyed by the grand Enemy.

ON this I have the following to advance, viz. That Scripture every where represents *this* world, the planet Earth, as made, or *planted* by *Christ*. It no where inculcates the notion of a *plurality* of worlds. For it can be of no material use to us, as moral agents, to know, whether there be other *worlds*, or not. Which makes it the more remarkable, that Scripture should inform us so copiously of *invisible beings* belonging to *our* world. This naturally leads us to suppose, that those beings are of *consequence* to us; else we should have had *nothing revealed* in Scripture concerning them. What extent of subordinate dominion Christ may hold
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in the universe, is to us unknown. But if this world be under his *peculiar patronage* in the manner represented in Scripture, his care, and providence over it was always *certain*, and could never become doubtful or *precarious*. And if the supreme Governor has, in his original constitution of the universe, ordered matters so, that, though (in consequence of that indispensable *liberty*, of acting well or ill, which must be given to beings intended for *morality*, and to be trained up to *virtue*) *oppression* and *tyranny* may arise, and for some time prevail over some particular parts of his universal dominion, yet there shall be a sufficient *security* provided, that injustice shall not *finally* prevail; that if there be *tyrants*, there shall likewise be *patriots*, if there be *oppressors*, there shall likewise be *deliverers*; if, I say, the supreme Governor has, as there is no doubt but he has, provided, that innocence and virtue shall not only have an *equal* chance against tyranny and oppression; but (upon the *whole*) very greatly the *advantage*; it is manifest, that his government stands fully vindicated in the sight of all rational beings.

FARTHER, let it be considered, what the consequence will be of that reasoning, which insists that wickedness, ought to have had no *power* to produce in God's universe any *evil effect* whatever. On the same principle, it is manifest, that *goodness*, in created agents, must likewise be restrained from producing any effect. But the universe must have been a regular *system*, in which *causes* must have produced their *effects*. And what would be the *use* of agency, if it was *restrained* from producing any *effect*? If *agency* is to be of no use, why create *agents*? Were it conceivable, that the

Divine *moral* government could have been other than *regular* and *systematical*, the consequence must have been total *confusion* and *incoherence*. As in the *natural* part of the universal system, had there been no *connexion* between *causes* and *effects*, it would have been impossible to carry on the affairs of human life; when no one could be *certain* in any one instance, what would be the *effect* of any one proceeding. If, for example, water, at one time was found to extinguish fire, and at another, like fuel, to feed it; if at one time bread was wholesome food, at another rank poison; if at one time metals would melt without heat, at another would not be fused by any force of fire; so, in the *moral* world, if it had been possible that moral *causes* should have failed of their *effects* in one respect, they must in others; till at last, there had been nothing certain, on which to depend, and *benevolence* would have been of as little *benefit* in the universe, as *malevolence* of *detriment*. So that moral evil does not come into the world as *permitted* (while, consistently with government, possible to be *hindered*) or as *intended*, or as *not evil*, or as contributing to some greater *good*; but, as introduced, directly *against* the Divine intention, by perverse beings, who must be *free*, and therefore might be *wicked*, and have accordingly, in spite of moral means, proved so, and whose wickedness could not, in a regular system, but produce important *effects*.

THERE are but two kinds of conditions, in which moral agents could have been imagined to be placed; one of individuals, wholly *detached* from one another, so as their agency should, in no degree, affect one another. This plan of individual solitude is too absurd

to be conceived of as entering into the mind of any wise being. The *social* state was therefore *unavoidable*; and in every *social* state, the *agency* of beings connected together must *affect* one another mutually, to the advantage, or disadvantage of many individuals. Not only beings of the *same*, but of *different* ranks and species, may be expected, in a social system, to affect one another beneficially, or injuriously. Could the generous horse, whose days are shortened, and his short existence rendered unhappy, by the cruelty of his tyrant, who either over-works him for his profit, or over-runs him for his pleasure, could he reason concerning our species, and what he suffers at our hands; he would perhaps look upon us as to his kind nearly what SATAN and his angels are to ours.

WHAT great absurdity is there then in imagining *our* happiness affected by the degenerate part of the species next *above* our own, when we see how much that of many *animal* species is affected by *our* tyranny, or our gluttony? But, indeed, the universal system, as far as we can trace it, seems to proceed on this plan, viz. That every article of the happiness, or misery, which comes to be enjoyed and suffered by individuals, is brought upon them, *mediately*, by fellow-beings. The very *continuation* of the human *species* absolutely depends on the *volition* of the *species* themselves. Without the care of mothers, or nurses, it would be impossible, that one infant, of the many thousands born yearly, should come to the age of being fathers or mothers. Thus the present generation, and every generation from the first planting of this world, has had it in their absolute power to put an end to the race of mankind; consequently, to prevent every
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unborn individual, from either enjoying the happiness, or suffering the misery, which proves to be the lot of individuals respectively in life.

It is ever to be remembered, that the universe could not have been established on any other foundation, than that of a system. In a system there may be imagined to take place a diversity of states, as *primary*, and *secondary*; the former more common, the latter more rare. By primary states I understand the condition of those beings, who are in all respects as their *Creator* put them out of his *hands*, and as he *intended* they should continue, exclusive of the advances and improvements they might naturally be expected to make by means of their industrious virtue. By secondary states, I mean such as are *altered* from what they originally were, by means of somewhat *adventitious*, as the influence of other orders of beings, or, in general, any thing that is not to be *expected* to take place in *all* worlds and systems, but only happens *occasionally*.

If the inhabitants of the planet Saturn, for instance, be out of the *reach* of the tyrannical Spirit, to whom Scripture ascribes the disorders of our ruinous spot; and of every thing *foreign* to themselves, by which they can be injured; I should consider them as in a primary and unaltered state, as being under the *immediate* government of God, or of the MESSIAH, and in no want of a revelation, a salvation, or redemption, or of any kind of *positive interposition*, to amend their circumstances, or put them into a condition more favourable and advantageous, than that into which they naturally must have come in consequence of their be-
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having as they might be expected to behave, and being happy accordingly.

SUPPOSE another order of moral agents, as the inhabitants of our unfortunate planet, to be, in consequence of the tyranny of that powerful ill-disposed Being, the Enemy of our illustrious Patron, subjected to various evils, which *otherwise* had not come upon us, and particularly to the utter loss of rational existence by *death*, without release from which it is impossible for even the most innocent and deserving of them to attain the happiness for which they have fitted themselves; so that the intention of their entrance into the state of humanity becomes utterly frustrated; I should consider the terrestrials, thus circumstanced, as in a *secondary* and *altered* state. In such a state, it is evident, there is occasion for somewhat secondary and *adventitious*, to *deliver* them from the secondary and adventitious distress, into which they are fallen. For without the direct agency and *interposition* of a deliverer, which is a *contingency* depending on his free *will*, the tyranny will prevail, in the same manner as we find there is nothing in the constitution of the universe, exclusive of the free interposition of patriots, that will deliver nations enslaved by human tyrants.

IN such a secondary, or altered state, as this, in which we find ourselves, even the mental *dispositions* of moral agents, as well as their external circumstances, may be conceived to be occasionally *alterable* from what they would of themselves have proved; and this by the mere *physical*, or mechanical agency of *fellow-beings*. The dispositions of our, and other species, do manifestly

manifestly depend very much on physical, or mechanical causes. We do very generally observe a connexion between the constitution of the *body*, and the disposition of the *mind*. Persons of infirm health are commonly observed to be sober. Libertines and ruffians are men of hale constitutions. The weak sex is more innocent than ours. The vices we have almost wholly monopolized. Again, we observe the tempers and dispositions of men to alter with an alteration of their bodily constitution. He, who, when he was lean and sapless, was fretful and peevish, coming afterwards to be plump and thriving, grows gay and good-humoured. Lions and tigers are drawn from their natural ferocity, by first starving, and then feeding them according to rule. Emasculation produces effects very different from what would, without experience, have been expected. The food, on which animals live, has an influence on their dispositions. The English, till lately, have lived more on flesh, than the people of any other country. The English characteristic disposition is more gloomy and sullen, than that of any other people. The air of different countries affects the respective inhabitants, and gives them suitable dispositions; and the effect is felt by foreigners coming into those countries. Let the reader carry on these views, and he will, I imagine, see no absurdity in supposing the possibility of *changing the disposition of a whole species of embodied beings by means purely mechanical* *. To poison the waters

* From other passages in these volumes, it is manifest, CRITO does not mean to ascribe, to natural, or mechanical causes, equal power in affecting the dispositions of mankind,

waters of a particular spot, is no mystery ; being commonly practised. If it be possible to poison one element, it may, to produce the same effect on another, the Earth, for instance, with the food of man and beast, which arises out of it ; to let loose in the air, intoxicating and maddening vapours, which, impregnating the spirable element, may communicate to all, who breathe it, such dispositions as we see produced by spirituous liquors, and by certain potent drugs *. In this manner, a whole world might have *new* dispositions worked up in them, which were not in their *original*

mankind, as to moral. He would not lay so much stress on education, and national police, or discipline, if he thought natural or mechanical causes to be of equal consequence with moral.

CRITO MINOR.

* In India they have a substance called Bang, which produces such a degree of madness as is scarce conceivable. I have heard of a man's eating of it from a furious desire of revenging himself on one, who had offended him. The wretch was soon after intoxicated to such a pitch, that he murdered several people in the streets, at Fort St. George. One of the soldiers on guard, endeavouring to stop him, would have been destroyed by him, had he not defended himself with his pike, on the point of which he received him. The eagerness of the enraged monster was so great, that he did not endeavour to disengage himself, but on the contrary, laying hold of the spear pulled it toward himself, forcing it through his own body, in order to come the shortest way at the soldier ; who was glad to fly, leaving the weapon in his body.

CRITO MINOR.

original make; or, at least, those, which were natural to them, *heightened* to an enormous extravagance. This seems partly to be our case; our passions seem, many of them, to be even at their *first* appearance, and before they can have received any wrong cast, or any aggravation from education, or from habit, much *more violent*, than is *necessary* for our advantage, or that of our fellow-creatures. Anger, for instance, is, in most individuals, very superfluously *excessive* *. For, though a certain degree of this passion is, to our species, a natural weapon; as to the inferior creatures are horns, hoofs, teeth, and claws; yet that *degree* of it, which is, generally speaking, born with us, is *useless*, and *hurtful*. Accordingly, nobody ever heard of a person, in whose composition there was a *deficiency* of this turbulent passion. On the contrary, we have all much occasion for curbing and *checking* it. And its *excesses*, besides being the cause of great *mischief*, defeat the *useful* purpose of the passion, often utterly *disqualifying* us for defending ourselves, or chastising our enemies.

WHAT shall we say of another fatal appetite? which, in our sex, appears strong and ungovernable at so *premature* an age, that, even lawfully to *indulge* its calls would be destruction to the *individual*. Of what mischievous effects it is productive, let fathers, and tutors, declare, whose hearts have so often ached at the thought of

* Fertur Prometheus addere principi
Limo, coactus, particulam undique
Decerptam, et insani leonis
Vñ stomacho apposuisse nostro.

of that dreadful destroyer of youth. I need not to mention the remorse of multitudes of our libertine sex, whose reflexions, in maturity, on their youthful misconduct in this respect, have opened a wound in their minds, which will not, in this life, be healed. It cannot, I think, be denied, that the too common *exorbitancy* of this appetite is both useless and hurtful; when we see, that those, whose desires are the *most governable*, are still *sufficiently* excited by them; being drawn, and indeed more effectually than the too warm part of the species, to *matrimony*; for the *incontinent* are rather *disinclined* to the *natural* and regular gratification of the appetite, and like the beasts of prey, which destroy more than they eat, aim at *variety*, rather than *peculiar possession*. Is there not somewhat here visibly gone into *deviation*? Is not the course of *nature* here turned aside from her *original* gracious purpose? Are not the passions and appetites of our degenerate species preternaturally *aggravated*? May not this preternatural aggravation of our passions and appetites be conceived of as *produced* by Him, to whom our wretched world owes all her various distresses *?

* IT is too well known, that love potions are more than imaginary. As a LUCRETIA may be turned into a MESSALINA, by drinking certain inflammatory draughts (the reader will hardly expect I should be *explicit* on such a subject) may not the *air* we breathe, and the *food* we eat, be, by the artful Enemy of virtue and mankind, debauched and *poisoned*? "There are more things in Heaven and Earth", says HAMLET, ^{Y^{na}} than are talked of in our schools of philosophy."

Our species are thus come into a state obnoxious to *atrocious* offence, into which they would never have fallen, had we, and our world, continued in the state, in which we were originally produced, and were *intended* to proceed, and would accordingly have proceeded, had not the grand Enemy gained an *ascendency* over us. That tremendous Being is thus, according to my theory, the *author* of all the *moral* evil, which has arisen in this world *beyond* those *frailties*, which any created nature might have been expected to fall into. For him Scripture accordingly informs us, there is prepared a punishment adequate to the atrocious offence of *ruining* and *debauching* a *world*; and of this punishment all those of our species, who have taken part with, and continue relentlessly to adhere to, this grand Rebel against all good, shall be partakers, and with him and his crew will be precipitated into total and irretrievable destruction; which will put an *end* to the grand *hostility*.

READERS need not to be startled at the idea of wickedness prevailing, and innocence exposed to suffer, under the *divine* government. It is what could not have been with certainty, and in all cases, *prevented*, supposing the divine administration to have been planned how you please, without confounding *government*, and abridging *liberty* which must not be admitted, if the design of creating moral agents was, their improvement in *virtue*. Moral means may, undoubtedly, in many particular cases, prevent beings from going extravagant lengths in wickedness. But it is certain, that obstinacy may resist any moral means, which could have been *constitutionally* provided; because, in a constitution,

tion, or system, things must be kept *clear* of one another. And perhaps *such* moral means, as would eventually have prevented SATAN's deviating so far from goodness, and producing such mischief in our world; would have been improper *constitutionally* to have been provided; because those invitations to goodness, and discouragements from vice, would have been more irresistibly *cogent* than they *ought*, or would have produced inconvenience to other better disposed beings, who would have behaved themselves well of course. It would not be reasonable to subject the *whole* people of a dominion to *rigid* discipline, because, if *all* be at liberty, *some* few will probably break loose from the restraints of decency, and run into disorder. Yet nothing would be more *desirable* to government, than that *all* the subjects behave *well*, could that universal good behaviour be secured by any means *proper* to be used, that is, any means, which would be *less* prejudicial to the whole, than the amount of the hurtful effects arising from the irregularities of the few, who proved vicious.

THAT *plenary* pardon of sin, upon sincere repentance, and thorough reformation, which Scripture promises, is to be understood as the mere effect of positive *interposition*, and peculiar to a *secondary* state. For, according to the simple and *natural* state of things, *total remission* could never have been the effect of mere repentance and reformation; because what is *done* is not *undone* by repentance; nor does repentance naturally dissolve the *connexion*, which, in all primary and unaltered states, subsists between vice and punishment.

As *death*, which is destruction and extinction, or at least, the reduction of the living man, back to that
rudimental

rudimental or staminal existence, which he had before birth, would not have come upon our species by the *regular* course of nature, without the malignant *interposition* of hostile power; so neither will *resurrection*, or *restoration*, from a state of insensibility and incapacity, come of *itself*, and without the exertion of direct and powerful agency for that purpose.

THAT *high happiness*, which according to Scripture, is to be the portion of the penitent and virtuous, is to be understood as *preternatural* and *adventitious*, as well as the *hideous punishment*, which awaits the wicked. Had no influence of the grand Enemy affected our species, mankind would have been free from the *preternaturally immoderate inclinations* I have mentioned, page 161. We should, in consequence, have behaved ourselves in such a *decent* manner, as to have fallen into no *aggravated* guilt, and should therefore have been obnoxious to no *positive* punishment, other than the *natural* consequences of our own frailties. Nor would there have been any *death*, or *resurrection*, or day of *judgment*, or *future* and *distant* state of retribution. All the reward and punishment, that was to come, would have come *immediately*. And we should have gone on equally from one *gentle* rise to another, as youth succeeds to childhood, and manhood to youth. These *unexpected changes*, and these sudden and *wide transitions* in our condition, are the consequences of our coming into a *secondary* and preternatural state.

WE know so little of the nature and agency of *superior* beings, it must be impossible for us to understand, or explain, the precise *modus* of either SA-

TAN'S.

TAN'S ruining, or CHRIST'S *restoring* our world. Only, respecting the former, we know, it is *easy* to do great *mischief*. We know, that there are various kinds of *power* possessed by different beings, according to their respective states. In our *fleshy* state, for instance, *muscular motion* gives mechanical power; and a greater quantity of muscle gives, *cæteris paribus*, an advantage, to him who has it, over him who has been less favoured by nature in that respect. We do not know how a *spiritual* substance moves one finger in consequence of *volition*; nor why all the volition, a *paralytic* can exert, does not move his *benumbed* limb. The knowledge and application of the *mechanic powers*, the knowledge of *chemistry*, of *pharmacy*, of the natures of *bodies in general*, and their effects, give *powers* to those who possess such knowledge, which lie out of the reach of the ignorant. Riches, popularity, courage, generalship, mental abilities of every kind; all these give *power*, that is, enable those, who possess them, to produce *effects*, hurtful, or serviceable to mankind, which effects they could not otherwise have produced. Among superior beings, there may be powers, of which we neither have, nor are *capable* of forming, an *idea*.

WE know, that great effects, both hurtful and salutary, are produced by seemingly inconsiderable causes. Let the reader here reflect on the force of strong liquors, especially spirituous, which turn men into dæmons; on the subtle poisons of some countries, of which a quantity sufficient to destroy a family may be contained under the nails of one person's fingers; on the slow poisons of the Italians, which do not bring
destruction

destruction in less than twenty years, and whose effects reach to posterity; on the force of the viper's, or rattlesnake's bite, by which a quantity of venom not so large as a grain of sand, will inflame the whole mass of blood, and bring death in a few minutes; on the bite of a common domestic animal, in a rabid state, by which a man is, in a manner, metamorphosed into a beast, and dies biting and howling; on the force of the deadly effluvia*, which burst out in mines, and of those, which, when contagions are abroad, bring fatal diseases, and scatter death over a nation; on the power of lightning, which rends the sturdy oaks, beats down the solid towers, and instantaneously dissolves the mass of iron; yet is turned away, and rendered as harmless as the passing breeze, by a wire not so thick as a goose-quill; on the force of a burning speculum, which will instantly melt a bar of iron through; yet by a covering of muslin is immediately deprived of its ardent fury; on the fatal effects from the introduction of the venereal lues, a disease formerly unknown, into this part of the world; on the happy effect from the introduction of inoculation for the small-pox, which

if

* I have heard from a pupil of BOERHAAVE, that an extract was made by that great chemist, from some infernal substances, of the mineral species most probably, whose destructive power was so great, that to draw the cork from the phial, which contained this volatile essence of death, and direct it toward a dog, or other animal, was certain destruction, and that it would even kill by reflexion from a wall, as well as when immediately directed from the phial.

if universal, as most probably it will soon come to be, would balance the depopulation occasioned by war and sea. Let the reader think of these, and such like particulars, and he will not, I imagine, hesitate about the *possibility* of a *world* reduced to a state of *ruin* by a wise, powerful, and malicious Spirit; nor concerning its restoration by a wiser, more powerful, and benevolent Being. As far as we know of the general system, it admits of antidotes as well as poisons, of remedies as of diseases, of deliverance as of oppression, of patriots as of tyrants, of restoration as of ruin.

IN the account given us by CHRIST's apostles, of what he did, while here on earth, it must be confessed, we have nothing explicit on the *modus* of his delivering this world. All that is related, is, that he wrought many miracles, taught many sublime, and before unknown truths, was persecuted by his countrymen, and put to death, that he rose again from the dead, and commissioned his apostles to go, and declare these facts to the world.

Now it must be confessed, that there is not much in this tending directly and apparently to the physical restoration of a ruined world, and destruction of the hostile being, who was the cause of this ruin. The moral usefulness of teaching and example, is what will not be questioned. But no teaching will destroy death, and him, who hath the power of death *. Now, according to the Scripture-scheme, SATAN is the physical destroyer

* Heb. ii 14.

stroyer of this world, and CHRIST the *physical* restorer. SATAN therefore did somewhat besides *tempting*, and CHRIST somewhat besides *teaching*. For *tempting* to vice would never have brought *death* on *infants*, who are *incapable* of vice, any more than *teaching* virtue would have *raised* the *dead*.

THE physical, that is, the *real* use and intent of our Deliverer's passing through *death*, has particularly perplexed such enquirers into these points, as have not been willing to content themselves with sounds for sense, or allegories for rationale's. No writer has hitherto given an intelligible account of CHRIST's *saving* mankind by dying as a *sacrifice*; an *expiation*; an *atonement*; a *ransom*; a *vicarious sufferer* for imputed guilt; a *meritorious procurer* of pardon; a *producer* of a *fitness*; an *obtainer* of man's salvation by way of *reward*; a *martyr*; or an *example*. Whatever has yet been written, or preached, on these points, of which the understanding can lay hold, amounts to no more, than that Christ's death was the completion of the antient predictions, and of the ceremonial law; and that it tends to produce valuable moral effects on his followers. But this falls infinitely short of an adequate account of the *modus* of the operation of his death for our *deliverance* from *ruin*. All that has been attempted to be explained of the purpose of CHRIST's death, is, to me, I own, unsatisfactory; and as to the Calvinistical account of the matter, (and almost all the schemes run up into Calvinism) I frankly own, as I have in the end of the third Essay, I hold it thoroughly irrational, and worse than no explanation, as tending to produce in the minds of men unworthy thoughts of the supreme Governor; though this, I know, is far
enough

enough from the intention of the Calvinists, many of whom are pious and valuable men, thanks to their honest hearts, rather than to their unpromising principles.

IF our glorious Deliverer be considered as a being of an entirely *different*, and incomparably *superior* order to us, it may be supposed, that his *knowledge* of our lowly nature and state might be *less perfect* than his conceptions of those of *higher* ranks. He might therefore be in want of *experience*, to let him fully into many particulars necessary for him to be perfectly master of. We can conceive the possibility of a physician's learning to cure, more speedily and effectually, a new disease, by being himself actually *afflicted* with it, than he could have done, by only *studying* its nature and effects, as they appeared in others. So, for what we know, it might be useful to the illustrious Deliverer from death, and restorer to immortality, to *pass* through *death*. Scripture informs us *, that his passing through a course of humanity *fitted* him, in a peculiar manner, for being the universal *Judge* of mankind, and we clearly understand how it did so. It is more than, I think, any one can say, that his being himself actually *dead*, might not, in some way analogous to this, or at least, capable of being compared with it, furnish him with knowledge, or powers, (knowledge gives powers) necessary for abolishing death, which knowledge and powers he could not *otherwise* have acquired. It must likewise render

* John v. 27. Heb. ii. 17. iv. 15.

the cause of the *adverse* party thoroughly *odious* in the sight of all rational beings, particularly of the celestial hierarchies. It might conciliate more effectually to our glorious Deliverer, the *affections* and *obedience* of all his subjects, when they observed his wondrous generosity, and magnanimity in defence of our species; and, on the other hand, the infernal malice of SATAN, and his crew, which brought on so amiable and so eminent a personage, such horrible distresses.

[WE know, in general, that *suffering* is often *unavoidable*, if men will give assistance to the distressed. Friendly interposition does often cost labour, expence, wounds, and death. In all such cases, it is not the *suffering*, as suffering, (which is *accidental*, not intended) that proves beneficial; but the *kindness*, which cannot be bestowed without the suffering. As we do not know one step necessary to be taken by Him, who would deliver a world from a *spiritual* hostility, it is impossible that we should be capable of conceiving, how the necessary procedure should expose our Deliverer to *any* suffering, consequently how it should to that of *death*.

THOUGH Scripture represents CHRIST as the planter, the lawgiver, the patron, the governor of this world; it does not follow, that he must (without *infinite* knowledge, which he himself disclaims *) perfectly know all the particulars of the mischiefs done to his world by a Being of great *sagacity* and *power*; and that he could have perfectly known, without experience, how to redress them.

SCRIPTURE

* Mark xiii. 32.

SCRIPTURE speaks of CHRIST's *laying hold* on our nature, and not on that of angels *. May not our glorious Deliverer, by taking, or *putting on*, or *animating* human nature, have become *enabled*, in some peculiar way, to us inconceivable, to *lift* the species out of the distress, into which they were fallen? May He not thus, in a systematical way, have become *master* of human nature, so as to *actuate* it, as a soul does the body it inhabits? I leave these thoughts with the reader, as bare hints, on which he may reflect, and which he may pursue, analogically, as far as he can.

IT may be objected to this theory, that, according to Scripture, all things universally, or at least all things referred to in those books, seem to have been *made* by the same illustrious Being, who is there represented as our Deliverer. Consequently, the grand Enemy himself is only the *creature* of the Saviour. How then are we to understand the Scripture-account of an antient, and long-contested hostility between Beings so *unequally* matched as the *Maker*, and the *creature*?

THIS matter does not to all appear in the same light. The orthodox, who *think* they believe the MESSIAH to be God, can have no doubt of SATAN's being brought into existence by him. The Socinians, who hold the MESSIAH to have had no existence till he was born, cannot allow the fact, of Satan's owing either existence, or any material advantage, to the MESSIAH. The Unitarians can conceive of the MES-

I 2

SIAS'S

* Heb. ii. 16.

STIAH's having been, *sano senso*, the maker of this world, and likewise of the angelic orders, both those, who have stood, and who have fallen. But neither do all unitarians understand in the *same* manner the MESSIAH's making worlds, and their inhabitants. It is certain, that all *existence* is derived from the one *Supreme*, to whom existence is *natural*, and *necessary*, himself the *Fountain* of being. Therefore, whenever the power of *making*, or *creating*, is ascribed to any *subordinate* being, it is manifest, the meaning cannot be, the giving of *existence*. It is to be supposed, that none, but Himself, has the power of *causing* that to *be*, which does not *naturally* exist. And nothing exists naturally, but the supreme, indivisible, unequalled, and all-perfect Monad.

THE Scripture-writers, having never subscribed the Athanasian creed, though a good sort of clergymen, in their little way, do every where represent our illustrious Deliverer as *subordinate* to the *Almighty*, whom they style *his* God and Father. With submission to our church's "*authority* * in matters of faith", I beg leave to propose to the reader's consideration, whether He, whose God and Father † the Almighty is, can be properly

* Which authority, though not infallible (for that is popery) is as good as infallible; it is *never wrong*; else it rests on a whimsical foundation, viz. that of *uncertainty*. For, if the church is not as good as infallible, *any* one of her doctrines may be *wrong*; consequently *this* particular doctrine, "That the church has authority in matters of "faith", may be *erroneous*. Q. E. D.

CRITO MINOR.

† John xx. 17.

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perly said to be the *Almighty*; whether the *Almighty* has a *God* and *Father*; or whether the *Son* of *God* is the *Father* of the *Son* of *God*. If not, then it is easy enough to understand, that the creating, or making of the grand Enemy may signify nothing more, than that the MESSIAH was he, who originally introduced the whole species of angels, not into *existence*, but into that advantageous *state* and *condition*, which enabled them to become, in process of time, angels.

Now, it does not, as far as I can perceive, necessarily follow from the MESSIAH's having been, in the *sense* here explained, the *Maker* of SATAN (and I own I cannot conceive of his having been so in any *higher* sense) that therefore it might not come to pass, in length of time, that this powerful Spirit might obtain *advantages*, which might render the *subduing* of him, even by his *Lord* and *Ruler*, a matter (not indeed of *doubt*, or *uncertainty*, but) of considerable *apparatus*, and *difficulty*.

It may be asked, why our illustrious Deliverer did not rather choose to *prevent* the mischievous machinations of the grand Enemy, than *suffer* them to proceed to the production of such extensive ruin, part of which will never be redressed, and that which will, has cost himself such cruel sufferings?

To this may be answered, that we know, it often proves wiser to give malicious *men* opportunity of *venting* at once their *spite*, by which they often *ruin* their schemes and themselves, than to *check* them, and give them time to meditate a *surer* and more *fatal* blow. The

case, most probably, was the same in the grand scheme we are considering.

THERE is but *one* way, in which agents can gain their respective ends; I mean the natural, or *constitutional*. This takes in even *miracles*. When a man born blind is to be blessed with sight, he must be furnished with eyes in all respects like ours, consisting of the same humours and coats, and fitted up with the same blood-vessels, nerves and muscles. That effects are not to be brought about *any how* by beings of the greatest power, any more than of the least, will be owned by all who believe the history of the gospels, in which it appears, that a Being of our Saviour's high rank, and stupendous power, *could not* deliver mankind without going through much of what must be extremely shocking to innocent nature. It is therefore certain, that SATAN's mischief could not *rightly*, as things were circumstanced, have been *prevented*; while yet the preventing of it was, on every account, extremely to be *desired*.

I WILL not pretend to say, there are not *difficulties*, if we attempt to explain every *minute* particular in the Scripture-account of the origin of evil, of our present ruined state, and of our future restoration. The history of the *Fall*, for instance, may, for aught I know, be, not a *literal* account of the first prevalency of Satan; but a high-wrought oriental *allegory*, according to PHILO's notion. The same may be said of some particulars in the predicted account, in the *Apocalypse*, of the future *renovation*. All predictions of events not yet arrived may be expected to be difficult of explanation,

tion, especially, when the scene, as in that highly mysterious book, is laid beyond the limits of this present state, within which our narrow mortal ken is circumscribed. But, that, in general, the Scripture-account of our present ruinous state, as brought on by the power of an adverse spiritual party, and to be hereafter, by the heavenly Patron of this world, restored to what it was originally intended to be, that this scheme of things is intelligible, agreeable to analogy, and therefore probable, cannot, I think, be denied. And it is for the credit of *this theory*, that it does what is done by no other, at least in an *intelligible* manner; I mean, that it shews a *deliverance* to have been *wanting*, and represents the Saviour as *doing* some what of *consequence*. It represents him as somewhat more than a mere *teacher* and *example*; it raises Him incomparably above the level of philosophers, law-givers, heroes, prophets, apostles, and martyrs; all mean characters, in comparison with that of the *Restorer* of a *ruined world*.

Now I talk of difficulties, I will add, that had I been at the elbow of any of our writers against Revelation, I should have put them upon urging the following, rather than any one of those, on which they have laid much greater stress, because I think it more considerable than any other; and I own I am for examining all such matters to the *bottom*, if possible, that we may know the *best* and the *worst* *. This difficulty is equal
on

* So far from voting with those, who are for suppressing the deistical writers by authority, instead of confuting

on all systems of Christianity. And I know of nothing in the Scripture-scheme, I have been tracing out, that is not easier of solution. Yet it seems to me far enough from being *unsurmountable*. Let the reader judge. Here it follows.

WE have His authority, who best knew, that “*few*” will eventually be *saved**; that the gate is wide, “and the way broad, which leads to destruction, and that many will go in at it.” We are, at the same time, informed, that *supernatural* means, such as the miracles wrought, and the instructions given, by MOSES and the prophets, and by CHRIST and his apostles, were well *fitted*, and accordingly *effectual*, for reforming mankind, and *preventing* the *destruction* of *souls*. How then comes it to pass, that these valuable and effectual *supernatural* assistances should not have been applied more *extensively*, than they have, considering the inestimable *importance* of the salvation of *souls*?

HERE it is necessary to distinguish properly. There can no shadow of blame be insinuated against the *supreme*

them at fair argument, (which last, the believers of Christianity may certainly do, if they have reason on their side) I should wish to see a premium publicly proposed for the best Essay against, as well as for the credibility of the Christian religion. When a point is freely, and without fear or reserve on either side, canvassed, the public have only to join that, on which the truth seems to be.

CRITO MINOR,

* Mat. vii. 13, 14. Luke xiii. 24.

preme Governor. His agency is, like Himself, *universal*. It cannot descend to *particulars*. The peculiarly *disadvantageous* state of our world is owing to subordinate agency, and so is the *interposition* for our deliverance. The precise pinch, if I may so speak, of the difficulty is, what should hinder the same love of our glorious *Patron* for human souls, which has done so much to prevent their destruction, from doing that *universally*, which it has done *particularly* for a few individuals. He himself says, the means, which proved *ineffectual* with some, would have *saved* others; yet those others were not favoured with those advantages; but were lost for want of them *.

THE promiscuous distresses of this present life are too short to be of any great consequence, *absolutely* speaking; and, if we are to be raised from the dead, the interruption, by death, of our consciousness for a short time (it must, to every individual, appear merely momentary) is likewise, comparatively, of small consequence. But a *soul* once *lost* is, according to Scripture lost *irrecoverably*. And Scripture, besides, informs us of hideous *positive punishments* awaiting the wicked.

IT is certainly not easy, some think it impossible, to account for the phænomena of fulfilled prediction; of such a scheme of doctrines and precepts, as those in Scripture, given by such unpromising teachers; of the prevalency of Christianity over every obstacle, without art or allurements used in order to gain profelytes; of such a character as that of the MESSIAH, a character

wholly unprecedented in all the ages and all the nations of the world, and this character drawn by sordid and unlettered Jews, drawn not by laboured descriptions, and studied encomiums, but by the most artless narration ever penned of a set of mere facts; it is, I say, by some thought impossible to account for all this without allowing, that something *beyond humanity* has been concerned. And if so, the *desideratum* is, an answer to the question, Why this supernatural interposition appeared in so small a part of the world, and has wholly *ceased* during these last sixteen hundred years; while popery has, by its villainous inventions, been ravaging this heavenly religion, and has nearly defeated the intention both of its doctrines and its precepts. Was it not worth while (I speak, as will by and by appear, with due reverence, and only mean to state the difficulty in its full strength) for Him, who has legions of angels at his command*, to send one of his flaming ministers armed with power to blast that wicked one, the Satan of human nature, who, with unparalleled impudence, styles himself the *Vicar* of CHRIST? Was it not worth while to exert anew some of that supernatural power before successfully exerted, to revive the decayed faith, and reform the degenerate manners, of mankind, and to prevent the havock of human souls; in such manner, that instead of few *saved*, the event should have been, that few should be *lost*. In short, the sum of the question is, How we are to understand our celestial Patron's shewing, at *one* time, so *anxious a concern* about our species, and *afterwards*, for so long a period,

viz...

* Mat. xxvi. 53.

viz. from the planting of Christianity to the present times, leaving us wholly (at least as far as *visibly* appears) to *ourselves*, while he knew what would be the *consequence*.

TOWARD the solution of this difficulty, let it be considered, that, supposing our Saviour, where he declares, that few will be saved, to speak, not locally, or relatively to his own times, but absolutely, and generally; there is in all schemes, a certain *limit*, beyond which to go, is superfluous, and *improper*:

———— sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

HOR.

We should not, in the present case, know *where* this limit lies, beyond which it was not proper, that visible supernatural interposition should go; but by seeing the fact, that it *has stopped* after going a certain length. If we are sure, that CHRIST *has* actually exerted a supernatural power in favour of our world, as the evangelists tell us, He has a *right* to expect, that we take for granted his having done all he *ought* to have done, and at the *time* when, in the *places* where, and in the *manner* in which, it was best to have been done. Had a generous friend interposed in my favour, on *one* occasion, to his great peril and loss; I should not do him justice, if I did not conclude, that his not appearing for me on *another*, when I looked for his assistance, was owing to some very substantial *reason*.

FARTHER, if mean-spirited and worthless men have suffered themselves to be so grossly abused, as *they* are,

who swallow the crabbed absurdities of *popery* (and let me add of many nearly equal, held by some protestants) they *deserve*, for their baseness, in suffering their fellow-creatures to extinguish the sacred beam of reason in their minds, to be *left* in that darkness, which they have wickedly *preferred* to light. Perhaps, nay, most probably, they, who, with the advantages, which all have for a certain competency of knowledge and virtue, have chosen ignorance and vice, would have done so, had CHRIST and his apostles continued their miraculous works till *now*. He knew human nature well, who said, "They have Moses and the prophets : " If they will not hear them, neither will they hear, " if one arose from the dead" *. We have many predictions, of undoubted antiquity, indisputably *fulfilled*, which striking completions are *now* obvious to our examination, and may justly be looked on in the light of *standing miracles*, as convincing to us of these *latter* ages, as if we *now* daily saw the *dead* raised. For the *foretelling* of distant and improbable events is as much out of the *reach* of *human power*, as the *raising* of the *dead*. And this proof of revelation is peculiar to *latter* times ; the predictions having been *given out* in antient ages ; but *fulfilled* in ours ; so that, if former ages enjoyed more of the evidences of *one* species, we possess more of *another*. The *Book*, which contains these predictions, is itself, taken complexly, with the amazing views it exhibits, a *cluster* of *miracles*. Thus, the difficulty is founded on what, with a little examination, comes out to be *false* in fact. For miracles are not in
fact

* Luke xvi. 29.

fact wanting even in our times. And it comes to much the same to us, whether MOSES, and the prophets, CHRIST, and the apostles, had *continued* on earth working a succession of miracles for our conviction; or whether they have left standing among us unquestionable *monuments* of their having, many centuries ago, possessed and exerted miraculous powers.

So much for this particular point of difficulty. And now, to draw toward a winding up of the general subject of the third and fourth Essays; there might be a variety of speculations pursued on many particular points, connected with these; which would afford entertainment, if not instruction, to the writer, and, perhaps, to the reader; but this would be endless. And to quote and explain properly all the passages of Scripture, which (if I rightly understand them) hold forth the grand Enemy as the author of evil, and the sole cause of the necessity of Redemption, would fill two other volumes as large as these. A subject may be over-written; and somewhat is to be left for the industrious reader's pursuit.

THE substance of what is argumentative and explanatory, in the third Essay and this, is comprehended in the following paragraphs.

THE supreme Being is possessed of *all perfections*, natural and moral.

THE *universe* was to be expected to exhibit an ample *display* of his perfections.

THE

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THE *moral* character of the Creator is what renders Him *supremely* adorable.

THE universe was therefore to be expected chiefly to exhibit a display of *moral*ity in the *creatures*, who, by becoming eminent in *virtue*, were to become like to God.

THOUGH *happiness* was the foreseen inseparable consequence of *virtue*; yet the *ultimate* object, the Creator had in view, was, solely and singly, the improvement of moral agents in *virtue*; this being supremely valuable *per se*, even though *unconnected* with happiness, in such a manner, that happiness must have been obtained by *other* means. If the Creator had proposed an universe of *happy* beings, their happiness to be the *ultimate* object, his praise would have been much inferior to what is due to his proposing, ultimately, an universe of *virtuous* beings; and *their* merit could have been only proportioned to their virtue; for the *happiness* enjoyed by beings confers no real *worth* on them, otherwise than as earned by virtue. The common account, therefore, of the divine scheme in creation, viz. That God proposed to fill his universe with *moral* agents, only because virtue is the most certain means for *happiness*, is miserably derogatory both from the divine *moral* character, and from the *value* of his *production*. For it is ascribing incomparably less honour to the Creator, to say, He proposed *happiness* ultimately, than to say, He proposed *virtue* ultimately; and it is a grievous derogation from the importance of the universe, to represent its principal value to be, its exhibiting a vast display of *happiness*, rather than of *virtue*. A just comprehension of the divine scheme in creating *moral* agents, gives an easy and

consistent explanation of the difficulty of the origin of evil; for,

If the supreme object, the Creator had in view, was, the production of beings, who should come *sincerely* to love virtue, and abhor vice, in the same manner as *He* does; it was necessary, that they should be absolutely *free* in chusing virtue, and attaching themselves to it. And freedom, or power, to choose, or to pursue *virtue*, necessarily implies freedom, or power, to choose, or pursue *vice*.

No means could have been provided in the constitution of the universe for *irresistibly*, and *universally*, preventing moral agents from deviating into vice; but such as must have destroyed freedom of *choice*, and consequently annihilated *merit*, without which the universe would not have been (comparatively speaking) worth creating.

MECHANICAL means, as *instinct*, for example, might have confined beings to a certain *track*, as we see in the animal creation. But the design of the Creator was not, that beings should be *confined* to what was harmless; but that they should spontaneously, voluntarily, and of their own mere motion, *choose* what was good. To this end none, but *moral* means, could be of any effect. But moral means are, by their essential nature *resistible*.

HERE was, therefore, an infinitely important end to be gained; and only *one* way for gaining it; while that one way was, by its very nature, *uncertain* of producing

ducing its effect *universally*. Had there been any universally certain means for gaining this end, they would undoubtedly have been constitutionally *provided*; for,

It is certain, that every, the least, degree of *vice* is properly *evil*, wholly of *mischievous* tendency, and directly *contrary* to the divine *intention*, which was, That moral agents should have (what is essential to moral agency as such) power to *choose* good or evil; but that they should *actually* choose only the *good*; and always reject the evil.

It was necessary, that the universe should be a regular *system*. In a system, individuals and species must have been *connected*; so as that they could not but occasionally come to be benefited, or injured, by one another, in consequence of this connexion.

Our species, and those below us, are *spirits* embodied in *visible* vehicles. Nothing purely *material* is capable of *beginning* action; matter being *essentially* inert, and necessarily *resisting* motion, when impressed upon it by living agents, instead of being capable of *beginning* it. Spirits are therefore the only agents. And those spirits are, probably, the most *powerful* agents, who are furnished with the most *spiritual* or etherial vehicles. That there may be agents superior to us, cloathed with such vehicles, as to be naturally to us *invisible*, is possible, and probable; has been the belief of all nations, and is the most frequently inculcated doctrine in Scripture.

As those of our species, who come to obtain superior powers, are often, in consequence of such *acquisitions*, found inclinable to exercise *tyranny* over the weaker; so scripture informs us, mankind are sufferers by the malignancy of *invisible* enemies*. And as our species are often the cause of great distress to the order next below us; so the degenerate and rebellious part of the *angelic* species, the next *above* ours, may be considered as the cause of the promiscuous *evil*, which prevails in our world, and the authors of its present ruinous state.

THAT our world is not in its *original* state, but *fallen* and *ruinous*, and that this ruin is come upon us by secondary and *adventitious* means, and not by the *divine* ordination, appears from various considerations, as, That all *ages* and *nations* have held the opinion that the present state of things is *disorderly*, and destined for future *redress*; and that *Scripture* is so full of this doctrine, that it may seem to have been given *chiefly*, if not solely, to inform us of it; that the distresses of life are *promiscuous*, not adequate punishments; that such is the irregularity of the present state, that the very delicacy of *virtue* often produces *unhappiness*, and mere *want* of sentiment, *tranquility*; that the present disorderly state of the passions and appetites is *hurtful* to our improvement in *virtue*; that many particulars in the present state are *inconsistent* and self-contradictory, as was to be expected from an *opposition* of wills and agencies; that if all is *well* at present,

* See the *Concordance*, at the words, SATAN, BEELZEBUB, DEVIL, ENEMY, ADVERSARY, ANGELS, PRINCIPALITIES, POWERS, DEATH, DARKNESS, &c.

present, there is nothing to *redress*; so that, if we deny the present state to be ruinous, the *moral* argument for a *future* state must fall to the ground, &c.

As amongst mortal potentates, there do arise frequent *emulations*, and opposite pretensions to certain territories; so we may conceive, that there has been a *contest* long carried on between two mighty spiritual Beings, of very different characters, of which, perhaps, this world may have been the subject *.

As mortal potentates, when at war, are wont to exercise their hostilities on one another's *subjects*; so we may conceive of the grand Enemy, as venting his hostile rage against our illustrious Patron, by bringing upon the *human species*, a part of his dominion, distress and ruin, and upon Him the severe labours and sufferings necessary to be undergone in delivering us.

As patriotic princes do often, through much *difficulty* and *suffering*, obtain at last complete *victory* over the enemies of their territories, and *restore* to their subjects, the *advantages* and *privileges*, of which, during the contest, they had been deprived; so Scripture informs us, we are, in consequence of the laborious interposition of our illustrious Deliverer, to be, in due time, *rescued* from the *calamities* of this present state.

As our coming into circumstances of *peculiar* distress, through the power of spiritual beings foreign to us,
rendered

* See John xii. 31. xiv. 30 xvi. 11. II. Cor. iv. 4. Ephes. ii. 2. vi. 12. Col. ii. 15.

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rendered a particular *interposition* in our favour *necessary*; so, when our illustrious Patron has overthrown all adverse power; has destroyed death, and him, who hath the power of it, and with him all those, who have joined the grand rebellion; when he has made all things new; when the mystery of God is finished; when vice is sunk, and virtue becomes triumphant; when pain and sorrow come to an end, and all tears are forever wiped from all eyes; when the original curse comes to be reversed; when those who are found worthy to escape the second death, shall be raised to glory, honour, and immortality, shall sit on thrones, and wear crowns, and shall be put in certain and irreversible possession of such happiness as eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor heart of man conceived; — when, in one word, the mighty work of redemption is finished; then our species will (as those orders of moral agents, who have never fallen into circumstances of *peculiar* distress) come under the *general* government of the universe, and God himself (the God and Father of our glorious Deliverer) will be all in all.

THIS CRITO understands to be the *Scripture-account* of the *Origin of evil*, and of *Christianity*; which is what he proposed, Vol. I. page 259, to explain.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE reader will, perhaps, observe, that the spirit of this second volume is, in what touches on political matters, rather more severe than that of the first. I own, I wrote the latter in a worse humour, than the former. They, who have attended to some particulars, which have passed in the interval, between the publication of these two little volumes, will not wonder, that every man of honesty and public spirit, shews more and more disgust.

I HAD made a resolution, on my first taking pen in hand, under the title of CRITO, that I would keep to the profession of the *laughing*, rather than the *weeping*, or the *reproving* academy. Accordingly, DEMOCRITUS would, I imagine, take it amiss, if either HERACLITUS, or DIOGENES, contested with him the honour of being the heads of my sect. I have not, however, I own, been able uniformly to keep to my system; in which I only resemble my long-bearded fraternity the more nearly. When I considered, as I wrote (one must take breath you know, between the paragraphs) how serious the mischiefs would be, and what frightful consequences they might draw after them,

if

if a knot of honest statesmen were to corrupt the virtue, and endanger, the liberty and happiness of an empire; or if a set of pious churchmen should confound the simplicity of sacred truth, and sanctify dissimulation and perjury; when these irritating reflexions, from time to time, kindled the fire of indignation in my breast, I could not keep the cynic from peeping out. But I have snarled as little as I could; and I have carefully avoided every appearance of *personal* reflexion or resentment. I have no where detected any scene of iniquity, before unknown to the public. I have not dragged into light the private vices of *private* persons, with whose morals the public have no concern. I have not aggravated what was excusable, nor industriously blamed the bad conduct of individuals, or *parties*, with the view of setting their *opposites* in an advantageous light. My natural benevolence would have been glad to find, in high life, not a plausible *party* to join myself to, in order to fight their battles, and prostitute my grey goose-quill to their dirty service; but a set of exemplary characters, whose public actions barely to *relate* for the edification of their contemporaries, would have been writing their *praises*. For, as our poet says,

“ Ev’N in a bishop * I can spy desert.”

IF, therefore, readers find in CRISTO but little panegyric, and much severity; they must blame his *times*, more than his disposition. He esteems an honest man wherever he finds him. Therefore he cannot less esteem an honest duke, than an honest carpenter. And if any purse-proud
statesman,

* See vol. I. *Dedic.* p. xxi.

statesman, or jesuitical churchman *, should ask, Who is this CRITO, and what is his father's house, that he should thus take his betters (as to money) to talk? I answer him; CRITO is an independent Briton, a citizen, and *friend*, of that country, which a sett of worthy gentlemen have long been plundering and corrupting †; and, if they claim a right to *do* such things, CRITO claims a right to *accuse* them of doing so. It is *his* country, they have injured, and *his* property (with that of others) they have embezzled ‡.

I BEG leave to add a few paragraphs, in consequence of some remarks communicated to me from friends.

A PERSON, whom I very highly respect, author of a late honest and public-spirited piece, which I sadly fear will not produce those salutary effects, it is calculated for; signifies

* It is manifest, the author could have no eye, in this passage, to any member of the protestant churches of England, Scotland, or Ireland; as there are no jesuits, but among the papists.

BENTL. SECUND.

† *Vide* the present state of the nation. BENTL. SECUND.

‡ No innocent person *ought* to take offence at what CRITO charges here, or elsewhere, anonymously; any more, than if he had charged the times with frequent thefts and adulteries; in which case only thieves and adulterers could have been offended. Thus POPE,

AEGYSTHUS, VERRER, hurt not honest FLEURY;

But well may put some statesmen in a fury.

CRITO MINOR,

signifies, by letter to me, that he wishes I would more particularly explain myself on the subject of *tolerating popery*, proposed in my *Dedication* of the first volume, which proposal he says, some have judged too *good-natured* to a sect, which does not much deserve good-nature.

I AM obliged to those candid persons for their favourable opinion of my dispositions. But, as I do not chuse to impose on their good-nature, I will fairly declare, that, under what to them has an appearance of *mildness*, I intended nothing less than the *destruction* of that diabolical superstition; and I doubt whether, if all the truth was known, the *tolerating* protestant is not in fact a more dangerous enemy to the *religion* of the papists, than he, who is for authoritatively suppressing, or even for *burning* them. The tolerating protestant is not indeed so dangerous an enemy to the *persons* of the papists, as the protestant persecutor. — THE PROTESTANT PERSECUTOR! — please only, good reader, to observe what a figure these two words make, placed together! But I was going to say, that I will not, for my part, pretend to be the enemy of any one's *person*, however I may dislike his *religion*, or his *politics*. If it pleases the universal Judge to pardon the *Devil*, notwithstanding all the mischief he has done us (and I think none of my readers will alledge, that my notions of what we have suffered by him are too *low*) I shall not desire to appear as an accuser against the grand Accuser; but will acquiesce in the amnesty; well knowing, that He, who has the power of pardoning, knows best where to bestow it. And if I have no malice against the person even of SA-

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TAN, the reader may judge, whether I have any against that of a papist *.

THERE is, I doubt, a fallacy in all our reasonings on the propriety of suppressing popish worship, viz. That, though we have no right to molest the papists, on account of their *religious* principles (many pretended protestants will not even grant thus much) we have both prudence and justice on our side, when we prevent their assembling together, on account of the danger of their taking those opportunities for propagating their pernicious *political* principles.

BUT do we consider, that, in suppressing a place of public *worship*, we are doing what we *certainly* know to be *unlawful*, for the sake of preventing, what we only *suspect* to be dangerous? Does human authority reach to the doing of *evil*, that *good* may come? Besides, this is taking it for granted, that authoritative interposition is likely to be *successful* in suppressing popery, and lessening the number of the votaries of that fatal superstition, which is by no means to be taken for granted. The true state of the matter is, therefore, that suppressing

* Every body must acknowledge our author's candour is extensive; yet I think he is exceeded by a character, I have heard of, viz. a tender-hearted clergyman of the church of Scotland, who shewed himself not only disposed to *acquiesce* in the pardon of the Arch-enemy; but thought it his duty, in his public prayers, to *interceed* for him, requesting that "the peer awld Deevil" might be pardoned, and restored.

CRITO MINOR.

sing a place of public worship by authority, is committing an act of *violence*, and breaking in upon the natural and unalienable *right*, which every man possesses, of *worshiping* what and how he *pleases*, unmolested by his fellow-creatures, as much as if he had not a fellow-creature alive, and accountable to God only; and all this with the more probable view of *increasing*, than diminishing the evil we wish to suppress. Human societies have *power*, it is confessed, to secure themselves against injury: but it is necessary, that this power be exerted in such ways, as *justice warrants*, and *prudence* encourages. But *human authority* is *tyranny*, when exerted in matters of *religion*. And prudence will ever direct to *mildness* and persuasion, not to authoritative *compulsion*, in endeavouring to correct erroneous *principles*.

IT seems to me, indeed, chimerical to think of making war on sentiments and principles secured within the imprenable citadel of the *mind*. MOSES commands his people to *love* their God, and their neighbour; and forbids them to *covet*, or desire what is not their own. And CHRIST commands his subjects to *love* their enemies, and threatens those, who even in their *hearts* commit adultery. And well such lawgivers might propose such laws; if they had *supernatural* means for *knowing*, when their laws were observed, and when violated. But what sense is there in a *human* legislature's proposing to make a man *love* or *hate* at their pleasure; to make him love a protestant government, and hate popery, by *coercive* means? What face of justice is there in pretending to institute punishments for individuals, on account of supposed principles, which

those *individuals* have not by any *overt act* proved themselves guilty of holding? If *individuals* have committed an overt act, let the *individuals*, who committed the overt act, be *punished*. The most violent zealot against popery cannot imagine, one individual in an hundred of the popish laity, has either the malice, or the courage, say rather the *desperation*, to rise against a government so gentle, and so powerful, as the British *. And if it be said, though the *laity* may perhaps be peaceably disposed, the *priests* are not; to this the answer is obvious, viz. What avails the zeal of the *priests*, without the people to follow them?

I SHOULD be glad to know, whether there is any thing that has so little *influence* on people's *practice* as their *principles*. Take, for instance, the principles of Christianity, as they stand in the *New Testament*, and see, whether they do not direct the votaries of that religion to be humble, meek, merciful, pure, heavenly-minded, patient of injury, self-denied, superior to avarice, ambition, and all that is unworthy of a candidate for glory, honour, and immortality. Pick out of the crowd the first christian you cast your eye upon. Enquire into his life and conversation. Do you expect to find him a genuine *Christian*? You have infinitely more probability of finding him as inobservant, in his conduct

* No. Britain is not fated to be ruined by *Popery*, which is itself going to ruin. Corruption and luxury will prove the demolition of this fair empire. See the Prophecies of the Druids, and of MERLIN, NIXON, DUNCAN CAMPBELL, CRITO, &c.

duſt, of the laws of the *New Teſtament*, as of thoſe of the *Koran*. Preſs home upon him the obligation he is under, as a Chriſtian, of forgiving the injury he is now bent on revenging. See, whether you can make him ſhudder at the words of his Law-giver and Judge, by telling him, that by them he will be one day tried, and by them condemned. I will not promiſe, that you ſhall prevail with him to delay the execution of his revenge for one hour, by quoting to him half the *New Teſtament*. Yet he profeſſes himſelf a Chriſtian; and will be highly offended, if you alledge, he is a Heathen. So little effect have *good* principles on our actions. On the other hand, liſten to the mad rant of an antinomian preacher, when he is declaiming, with the high approbation of his hearers, on the *worthleſſneſs* of what *only*, in this world, has *worth*, viz. virtue. You might reaſonably conclude, that he and his audience are wholly *indifferent* about their *moral* behaviour, and will ſtick at no wickedneſs. But on enquiry, you will find them as *regular*, in their life and converſation, oftentimes more ſo, than thoſe, who hold more rational *opinions*.

IN the ſame manner, though the principles of pure popery are calculated by SATAN, their author, to make this world a Hell, and mankind dæmons before their time; it does not therefore follow, that *all*, or even the *majority* of the children of deluſion, are as *diabolical* as their original *principles* tend to make them. Few people are capable of *high* attainments either in virtue or vice. The generality of mankind are what the common *education* and *practice* of the country, they inhabit, make them.

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It is notorious, that the spirit of popery, in general, grows milder, in proportion as knowledge prevails. We see the popish priests in Ireland give out, from time to time, very good instructions to their people on the subject of submission to our government; which, by increasing its *lenity* to them in the exercise of their *religion*, will of course diminish their inclination and their supposed need of a revolution, in favour of their principles. It is now the *interest* of the papists (and it is in our power to keep it so) *not* to disturb the public peace.

NOTHING I have said militates, in the least degree, against the propriety of *vigilance*, and *attention* to the proceedings of the papists, nor against the six methods proposed, in the *Dedication* of my first volume, for demolishing popery, nor against any other promising scheme, that may be put in execution without *violation* of their natural *rights*, as fellow-creatures. Of these the suppression of their public *worship* is an *infringement* altogether violent and unwarrantable; and of which, as men, as Britons, as Christians, and as protestants, we have every reason to be ashamed.

WERE we to give the same toleration to the papists, which we now allow the protestant dissenters, we should *know* the *whole* of what we have to *fear* from them. And is it not less formidable to have an open enemy to encounter, than one lurking in ambuscade? Let them be *registered*. All subjects ought to be registered. Let them, as all other denominations, worship with open doors. It will then be known, what is transacted in their religious assemblies. Places of public worship ought to be open, not only on political accounts; but

likewise for the admission of all, who may accidentally come with the view of joining with them.

IF, instead of this, we choose to persecute the papists, we shall accomplish their utmost *wishes*. A little molestation from the government is the very culture, every sect, who build their scheme on any thing, besides reason, desire *. What would not our Methodists, our Moravians, and our Sandimonians, give for a few enlivening lashes from the hand of authority? I know the person, who heard one of those fanatics boast to a friend, of his having been "gloriously persecuted" the day before; that is, of having some brick-bats thrown at him, as he was holding forth in Moorfields on a joint-stool.

CONSIDERING with myself our frivolous pretences for *persecuting* the papists, and our general reluctancy to unlimited toleration; I cannot help looking upon popery as the *universal* religion; as running a great way beyond its own territories, and establishing its mischievous oeconomy even in the supposed *protestant* domains. I have read a treatise (of CHILLINGWORTH's, if I remember rightly) the purpose of which is, to shew, from facts, that *all denominations* have, one time or other, been *persecutors* of those, who differed from them, some with more, some with less virulence, though none carrying their rancor to any height to be named with that of popery. If so, the *papists* have a pretence, though I cannot say equally just, for suppressing the *protestant* worship,

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* See the *Tale of a Tub*.

worship, as well as *we* for suppressing *theirs*. They may pretend to conclude from *facts*, that *our* principles lead us to use means for demolishing what they think the true religion. Therefore they are to suppress *us*, and *we* them, according as they, or *we*, chance to get the power into our hands. It seems therefore evident, that we cannot rationally confine ourselves to the suppression of popery, if we once assume the necessity of suppressing the public worship of a sect of religionists, on account of their being likely to exert themselves in an hostile manner against *us*, whenever a favourable opportunity offers; for this, I doubt, is too much the disposition of the bigotted part of all sects; though in a degree much inferior, I suppose, to those of the popish persuasion. Which renders it more necessary, not that we authoritatively and forcibly suppress their *worship*; but that we keep a watchful eye upon them, and use all *justifiable* means (*unwarrantable* ones at our *peril*) for *prevailing* with them to relinquish what may still remain of their hatred against *us*.

If toleration be in *any degree* reasonable, it is necessarily *unlimited*. If toleration is in no degree reasonable, then I have a right to *burn* my neighbour, because he is a heretic, that is, he differs from me, or holds principles, which I call *dangerous*. But then he has as good a right to *burn* me, because I am, to him, a heretic. Nay, I have a right to *burn* myself, because I cannot make myself believe all the articles, creeds, and confessions which constitute orthodoxy. If, on the contrary, toleration, in any degree, be reasonable, in such manner, that neither I have a right to *burn* my neighbour, nor he to *burn* me, nor I to *burn* myself, nor he to *burn* himself, on account of our not being able to swallow

swallow forty articles, neither have we a right to *burn* one another, or ourselves, because we cannot get down thirty-nine, nor because we cannot find throat enough even for the odd nine. For, if I have a right to *burn* my neighbour, or he to *burn* me, or I to *burn* myself, or he to *burn* himself, on account of want of belief; this right of *burning* must go through. If there be a right of *burning* at all, it is founded in the guilt of *unbelief*. Now the rejection of one article, or of a fraction of an article, is *real* unbelief (as a grain of arsenick is poison, as really as a pound) consequently infers a right of *burning*. If, therefore, it be reasonable to tolerate *one* erroneous opinion, because human cognifance cannot reach *opinions*, it is necessary to tolerate any, and all opinions, so long as they continue mere *opinions*.

THE utmost, therefore, that we can authoritatively do against popery (and that not worth doing) is to question the papist, whether he has any design against the *state*; and to take whatever answer he pleases to give us, and that not upon *oath*, unless he pleases *voluntarily* to make oath; for we have no right to demand any man's oath in justification of himself, till we have positive grounds of suspicion-against him from his *own* words or actions, not from vague conjectures concerning the supposed tenets of his sect or party, which do not always, nor generally, influence the practice of individuals.

CHRISTIANITY does not, any where, as I remember, authorise *double taxes* on account of wrong *opinions*, religious, or political, nor ever draws its arguments from the fear of the *constable*. We have no

reason to think its divine Author, or any of his apostles, ever applied to a *justice of the peace* for a warrant to shut up a *beaten chapel*, or to apprehend and imprison a *priest*. Yet CHRIST, and his apostles, not only *suspected*, but *knew*, that their enemies sought their blood; and *would have it*; and they knew the *individuals*, whose *practice*, not their speculative *principles* merely, were dangerous and destructive. Is it from this *moderation* in a case so *atrocious*, that we draw our authority for *violence* in a matter so *doubtful*? Is this our way of shewing ourselves the followers of the meek and patient Jesus?

PERHAPS it may be said, There is a *difference* between the circumstances of those *primitive* times, and *ours*. That Christ and his apostles left it to us to *improve* upon their plan; which accordingly we have done full *copiously*, by adding a set of *mythic doctrines*, they were too *artless* to think of, to be subscribed in consequence of an *assumed* ecclesiastical authority, which they *forgot* to establish; not to mention *hierarchies*, *pluralities*, *commendams*, *rites*, *ceremonies*, *articles*, *creeds*, *confessions*, *kneelings*, *crossings*, *spiritual lordships*, *seats in legislative assemblies*, *episcopal palaces*, *gilt chariots*, *princely revenues*, and ten thousand other little matters both ornamental and useful *; which did not occur to them, but
which

* The author can only mean here the *R. Catholic* establishment. For I am persuaded every bishop, every dean, and every rector of five hundred pounds per annum, is convinced in his own mind, that *our church* is perfectly well constituted; which renders them so justly averse to enquiries, and amendments.

which our more enlightened ages have found absolutely necessary.

THIS answer would be more plausible, if it were not for a multitude of directions left by the Author of our religion, which unluckily seem to look quite the contrary way. But enough of this.

To conclude all I shall say on the enquiry into the propriety of suppressing popery by authority, I will only add, that, if I were an artful and corrupt *statesman*, and had occasion for a convenient tub to throw out to the whale, I would set up the cry of the growth of popery, and draw away the attention of the people from my own conduct, to a pursuit after the papists, that they might overlook my *real* mischief, while I kept them employed about what was *imaginary*; or of little comparative consequence.

OR if I were an artful *bishop*, who wanted to call the people to see my zeal for the Lord *, I would send circular letters to all the parish priests of my diocese, requiring an account of the mass-houses in each parish, and the number of worshippers belonging to each of them, and would employ, not the spiritual weapon of meek reproof; but the carnal one of a massy staff wielded by the brawny arm of a constable, which might silence them, if it did not confute them.

OR if I were a lazy *parson*, and did not choose the trouble of going to the houses of my popish parishioners,

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to

* 2 Kings x. 16.

to *reason* with them on the absurdity of the religion they profess; I would perhaps apply to the *magistrate*, and desire him to convince the priest by the compendious argument of a *prison*; which would give an opportunity to his blinded followers to honour, perhaps to *worship* him, for a *martyr*. The reader may judge how directly this would tend to the *detaching* of them from their *principles*, and to the *conciliating* of their minds to our religion and government.

BUT if I *sincerely* meant the *rooting up* of that hellish delusion; and delivering a sett of unhappy bigots from the most miserable species of slavery, viz. that of the mind, I would attack popery with the weapons of *mildness*, *reason*, and *persuasion* only; leaving all *unjustifiable* and *unpromising* methods to be used by those, whose magnanimity, and sagacity, inclined them to have recourse to such means *.

I AM desired to explain a little the following passage, vol. I. page 20.

“ MY opinion is, That England ought to make
“ no peace with France. Cessations of arms she may.
“ It

* Toleration for the papists is no new proposal. Dr. GAUDEN, in CROMWEL's time, proposed liberty of conscience for them; and indulgence for the Quakers, with respect to oaths. The latter proposal has passed into a law. And I own I can see no reason, why we ought not to wish, that the former likewise had. See the *Biograph. Diss.* art. GAUDEN.

BENTL. SECOND.

“ It is our treaty-making, that undoes us ; for a peace
“ with France ties up our hands, while those of the
“ enemy are at liberty.”

THERE is nothing extraordinary in the idea of two nations constantly at war, without any great consumption made either of *blood* or *treasure*. The piratical states of Barbary are always in hostility with one kingdom or other ; yet this hostility is rather negative than positive. The two states are rather *not* at *peace*, than *actively* at war. In a situation analogous to this ought the two great rival powers of Europe always to be, if we would be on a fair footing with our natural enemy. Whereas, hitherto, what with the superiority of French *finesse* to English honesty, what with the advantage, the continental religion has over ours, in lulling the consciences of French statesmen, who stick at no hostility of the *covert* kind, in times of peace, any more than of the *open* in times of war ; we do find to our cost, that tho’ we have the advantage in war, they always conquer us in peace.

LET it be considered, whether it is more eligible, for the advantage of England, in the competition between her and France, that we go on, as we have generally hitherto done, with seven years unsound peace, and seven years bloody war ; or that we pass the whole fourteen years, or the whole century, in a state of open hostility, without any other activity on our side, than what is necessary for keeping our enemy in respect, interrupting their trade, and profiting by that interruption, as we notoriously did in the last war in a manner before inconceivable. Whether, therefore, we ought not, when we last drew the sword, to have

K 6

thrown

thrown away the scabbard. Let those, if such there be, who think this sounds harsh, remember, that what France has all along aimed, by all means, just, and unjust, to accomplish, is the subduing of the British empire*. To the restless *ambition* of that faithless people we owe our present *involved* and precarious condition, with all we have to fear (and what have we not to fear?) from such a condition. What measures were we then obliged to keep with such a people? The question is, whether France or England shall prevail. They are no more compatible, than Rome and Carthage. One, or the other must sink †. So that no resolutions on our part, against such an enemy, could have been justly pronounced too severe; so often have they been the gratuitous *aggressors*, and so often have we been the sufferers at their iniquitous hands. But this is the least part of what I have in view. My direct meaning, in proposing a constant state of war between England and France, is the *prevention* of mischief.

HAD we in the late war, followed Mr. P——'s wife direction, I mean, his *uninfluenced* direction, “Not to
“ send

* See COLBERT's grand scheme.

† The author means, I suppose, that if France ever comes to gain the ascendancy, she will, of course, reduce England to the state of her *pays conquis* in Flanders; and that, if otherwise, it will be England's wisdom (not to reduce France to the condition of a province; but) to circumscribe her within due limits.

“ send one guinea, or one man to the continent”; but exerted our *whole force* in the *naval* way; we should scarce, to speak comparatively, have felt the weight of the war. The advantages gained by our *succeeding* to the whole of the *commerce*, from which we had excluded our enemies, would have been such, that the *war* would have *borne* its own *charges*, and enriched the nation. A state once reduced (and surely France must have been effectually reduced, had we bent our whole force against her fleet, and her commerce) is easily kept down. Our power, to keep our enemy in subjection, would have increased continually, and in the same proportion their ability for resistance would have decreased. Add, that the charge of a reduced war, wholly *naval*, is inconsiderable, because laid out almost wholly with British people.

THE very rage of our nobility and gentry, for murdering their *money* in *France*, is a consideration of no small national consequence. It is notorious, that few of our people of fortune can enjoy themselves a *year* round in *England*; and that the greatest pleasure our great folks know, is that of exposing themselves annually to the ridicule of the French; who have, indeed, a proverbial right to laugh, as being the *gainers* by our extravagance (not only in living, while we are among them, but in the costly *emplettes* we make of their silks and bawbles) while they wisely keep themselves, and their money, at home; by which means it comes to pass, that the annual account between us and France turns out on *our* side dead *loss*; on *theirs* clear *gain*. Were we in a state of *constant* hostility with that crafty people,

people, this *drain* of our wealth would, of course, be *stopped*.

We are naturally *superior* to France by *sea*. And had we studied oeconomy in our wars with that nation, we might with ease have kept up this superiority, more effectually than we have, and might have had now in our *possession* the immense *treasure* we have *wasted* on the *continent*. We might have reduced our restless and designing rival so low in commercial and naval power, that a very small extra-charge would have secured us the advantages of *their commerce* added to our *own*, and kept them in a state incapable of prejudicing us; which we were, in duty, bound to see to, if we wished well either to our *own* interest, or to that of *Europe* in general. For experience shews, that there is but *one* way of keeping France from *troubling* the general *repose*, viz. *Disabling* her. But this was only practicable on the supposition of our *continuing* the hostility. Our granting that restless and designing people *peace*, is only giving them an opportunity of abusing us by some cunning fetch, in negotiating, of recovering their strength, of exhausting our treasure, of drawing our money into their country, of increasing our national burden; and obliging us to go through the whole process of subduing them over and over, times without number. Had we continued the hostility with France in the *naval* way exclusively, from the duke of Mariborough's war, till now; where must, by this time, have been the French commerce, their navy, their plantations *? What should

* Cardinal RICHLIEU says expressly, "While the English are masters at *sea*" (not while they spend their strength

should we have had at this hour, to dread from them?

INSTEAD of this happy state, what is our prospect; but the renewal of hostilities, as soon as it comes to be again in the power of our irreconcilable enemy. How little, in our present involved state, war is to be desired by us, I need not point out. One advantage however, we have above former times, viz. That his *present* M——ty (whom God preserve) is not a native of the *fatal continent*. But our prospects, as well as our retrospects, are, upon the whole, so little pleasing, I will here drop the subject of our danger from France, and proceed to another.

BEING requested to give some account of what I refer to in the twentieth and twenty-first pages of the first volume, the reader is welcome to it, as follows.

ABOUT twelve or fourteen years ago, when the Works of Lord BOLINGBROKE were published, some gentle-

strength against windmills on the *continent*) “they can “block up our [the French] *barbours*, interrupt our “*trade*, destroy our *fisheries*, and ravage our *coasts*.” And see, in the London Chronicle, N°. 1466, a copy of a Letter from EDWARD ALLEN Esq; British consul at Naples, to the Duke of NEWCASTLE, dated Naples, Aug. 17th 1742, which shews, from fact, what revulsion a proper application of naval force would, in the late, and former wars, have made from the French army on the continent, and proves, that, according to CRITO’s doctrine, vol. I. pages the 12th and 13th, attacking the French with land-forces is the least effectual as well as the most expensive method of annoying them.

gentlemen of the *deistical* communion, became, on a sudden, so elated with the success, they expected to their cause from the bold attacks made by that nobleman on the authority of *Scripture* (in demolishing which he seemed disposed to overthrow the whole credit of history) that they began publicly to exult over all those, who were less struck with his lordship's arguments, than themselves; crying out, "Where is your Bible now?" I was not, for my part, much more moved by this victoryless triumph, than the admirers of SHAKESPEARE were, when the Scotch critic bawled out in the pit, after the representation of the tragedy of *Douglas*, "Whare's aw yeer Shaukspeers noo, lauds?"

I HAD occasion, about the same time, to write to Dr. HALES; and, mentioning the then late publication, I proposed to his consideration, whether it might not be useful to have some public enquiry made by able writers into the points, his lordship had chiefly dwelt on: For that *silence* on the side of those whose belief of *Scripture* was not shaken, would look suspicious of a consciousness, that their cause was *indefensible*. The good doctor entered warmly into this view. Many circular letters were written; printed plans handed about; and meetings held, at which bishops, and eminent persons of the laity assisted; and printers and booksellers attended. My hope was, to have got a *Grand Association* formed, consisting of persons conspicuous for their *characters*, and *stations*, who could easily have procured the assistance of all the *able pens* in the three kingdoms for carrying on a periodical publication in support of *virtue* and *truth*; and had it in their power to give a general *turn* to the *sentiments* and *manners* of

twenty millions of people. The persons of rank, who seemed to me most *sincerely* desirous of promoting this design, were an illustrious female character, and a noble lord, who at that time presided over the education of a young family of supreme dignity. These two eminent persons have, since, been treated by some among us in a manner particularly *genteel*. I cannot say, however, that I have esteemed them the less for their seeming desirous of promoting a scheme, which, in my humble opinion, might have answered ends as *valuable*, as those, which were the objects of the famous *Minority-association*.

I HAD likewise conceived the idea of another *work* to be carried on under the same umbrage, viz. a complete *System of political knowledge*, drawn from history and biography, antient and modern, from the best political writings of all ages and countries, with whatever could be obtained by searching records, memoirs, state-papers, negotiations, law-books, codes, antient and modern, observations of travellers, treatises on government, commerce, and all manner of subjects connected with them, &c. the whole to be digested in the briefest manner under heads, and printed, or, if not, at least *written* out fair into volumes, for the use of the then H—r appar—t (whom God preserve!) that, in all cases of difficulty, He might have somewhat more *certain* to depend on, than the precarious and contradictory counsels of men, who might be themselves *mistaken*, or might be interested to *deceive* Him.

SOLOMON has been generally thought a man of tolerable sense for his times. He observes, that there is nothing *new* under the Sun. If this be true, it seems manifest,

manifest, that there is no method so *safe* for judging of the probable *effect* of proposed *measures*, as to find what effect the *same*, or *similar* measures have produced on similar occasions. Nor is there any way of judging, with so much certainty, of the *fate* of nations and kingdoms, as comparing them with those which have *resembled* them the nearest. The politician's business is, therefore, to endeavour to obtain, in the easiest and surest manner, the knowledge of the greatest number and variety of the most important and edifying *facts*.

SUPPOSE a particular *desideratum* in agitation, as, for instance, Proper *means* for *lowering* the *price* of *provisions*, on a sudden, unaccountably enhanced; had the k——, or the m——ry, at hand a political *Thesaurus*, digested in the manner above proposed; on turning to a few words in the Index, the *policy* of a variety of *states*, both antient and modern, with regard to the means of producing, keeping up, or restoring plenty and cheapness of every species of provisions, might be quickly *collected* into one view, and somewhat *fit* to be *adopted*, drawn from thence; and so of every particular relating either to peace or war. I own, I thought, no method was more likely to furnish a complete political *Repertorium*, the true Sibylline book, than for a cluster of MÆCENAS's to engage all the able men of an age in such a work; their labours to be rewarded by the public; this I say, was my poor opinion: but (*dis aliter visum*) the great folks had other-guise schemes in their heads, than making mankind *wise* and *good*, or nations *great* and *happy*. All this they considered as *romantic* and *visionary*. For my own part, I take shame to myself; I was weak enough to begin to think, on seeing some few distinguished persons

sons enter into these views, that even my lowliness was born to contribute somewhat to the good of my country. The reader may laugh, if he pleases. I expose my own weakness, by way of self-punishment; and therefore frankly own, I did, at that time, as much please myself with the prospect of setting on foot a useful scheme, by which I should at my death leave my country indebted to me, as an ambitious commoner does with the prospect of a peerage.

To be useful only within the sphere of a private subject, I thought but a poor and common praise. The romantic turn of mind, I was born with, of estimating men according to their personal qualifications, and the importance they make themselves of to their fellow-creatures, by their services, has so abused me, that I have often said, I should choose rather to be poor SHIPLEY *, than a duke. And my ambition was to have been the first proposer of an association as useful toward the promoting of a right way of thinking and living, as the laudable society in the Strand has proved for attaining its valuable (tho' *less* valuable) objects †. Some of my friends told me, I was as
Utopian

* The projector of the very respectable Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

† Perhaps some good-natured critic may alledge, that the author writes, in this and other parts of his book, pretty often in the *first* person; which in *speech* is less graceful. Let such remember, that CRITO is *nobody*; and that an *anonymous* writer has a right to say of himself what
be

Utopian as the *Spectator*, in the projects he tells us he formed, for the public good. The event proved how much they were in the right. This affair was, however, the occasion of a valuable publication, which had not otherwise been thought of, viz. Dr. LELAND's *View of the Deistical Writers*. But, how far *short* did this come, of what was proposed, and must have followed from the execution of my scheme, in its full extent, had *they* come cordially into it, whose duty it was to promote every public-spirited scheme? It is indeed scarcely possible to imagine any one valuable national purpose, but what might have been obtained by a constellation of illustrious characters united upon principles of disinterested virtue and universal benevolence, determined to employ their best powers for the advantage of their country. *Heu pietas! heu prisca fides! an unquam longo post tempore?* Happy age, if ever England should behold such a phænomenon!

I DID not then know the world, nor those, who make the most noise in it, so well as I do now. If I had, I should have saved myself some trouble, expence, and disappointment: for I should have concluded that the majority of that rank were so happily disposed, that nothing was likely to engage them to associate, but some object suitable to *their sort of magnanimity*,

as

he pleases. See the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, *Guardian*, *Freeholder*, &c. Had not Sir W. TEMPLE, Bishop BURNET, &c. put their names to their writings, their egotisms had not been egotisms.

as a cock-match, a horse-race, the preservation of the game, or the preservation of the court-places *.

PERHAPS the great might take disgust against the proposal of a public-spirited association, on account of *that part* of it, which related to an enquiry into the authority of *Scripture*, in order to the defence of it, if found defensible. It is certain, that those old-fashioned writers do not treat the rich and the mighty in a very courtly manner; which might perhaps (if it can be supposed, that persons of quality know what is in the Bible) render them averse to any trouble about a set of authors, to whom they might think themselves but little obliged.

THOSE

* How clearly would the grandees of the *present* times demonstrate their superiority to those, whose want of public-spirit CRITO here exposes, if they would at once take the hint, and form a Grand Association for the above-mentioned and other *truly noble* purposes, and carry them into such effect, as to give a salutary *turn* to the present dismal state of *affairs*! Suppose a total new example set up, of serving their country in the great offices of state, without fee or reward; of discountenancing gaming, betting, rooking, jockeying, horse-racing; of superiority to luxury and pride; of confining their notions of greatness to greatness of mind; of choosing rather to be admired for their contempt of magnificence, than for their magnificence itself; of walking on foot with one servant behind them, after the manner of the Dutch statesmen in Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's time; of — now, reader, why would you rouse me out of so pleasing a dream?

CRITO MINOR.

THOSE grave gentlemen, the prophets and apostles, tell us, for instance, that the great are much given to oppressing the poor ^a, and prosecuting them with litigious lawsuits. That they are wise in their own conceit ^b, full of violence, and given to answer roughly ^c. That they are apt to glory in their riches and their might ^d, to put their trust in them, and say to their souls, Take your ease, eat, drink, and be merry; you have much goods laid up for many years ^e; that they fare sumptuously every day ^f, while they think the poor ought to be content with the crumbs which fall from their tables ^g; that riches are deceitful, and choke the word ^h; that great men are not always
wise

^a Racking the rents of their lands.

^b Not in other people's.

^c When their tailors dun them.

^d To plead privilege.

^e A round sum in the funds, got by stock jobbing.

^f Witnesses the Minority-club at Almack's.

^g As when an artificial famine prevails through the attention and fore-thought of faithful and wise rulers.

^h The great, in a certain country, prevent this, by never hearing it.

CRITO MINOR.

wise men. That wicked men are often rich and thrivingⁱ. They even forbid us to accept the person of the rich^k. They accuse the great folks of spending their lives in mirth and joy^l; neglecting all that is serious; and saying to God, Depart from us: we desire not the knowledge of thy ways; what is the Almighty that we should serve him, or what profit shall we have, if we pray^m to him? They tell us, that divine vengeance awaits the worthless rich. That they shall be cut off in a moment. That the mighty are to be put down from their seats, and they of low degree to be exaltedⁿ; that the hungry are to be filled, and the rich sent empty away^o; that it is not the great,
and

ⁱ This is much the same, as saying, rich and thriving men are often wicked.

^k That is, to treat the *great* knave with any more *menagement* than the *poor* one.

^l At the opera, the play, and Mrs. Cornellys's assembly; after which, at Mrs. Cornellys's assembly, the play, and the opera; then at Bath, Tunbridge, and Newmarket; and lastly, at Newmarket, Tunbridge, and Bath.

^m Therefore the inhabitants of one end of a certain town, go to cards, when those of the other go to prayers.

ⁿ This means, I doubt, somewhat worse, than the taking in of the Outs, and turning out the Ins.

^o And this means a more serious game, than that of filling the patriots with the public money, and dismissing those, who have already made their fortunes.

CRITO MINOR.

and the rich, but the poor in spirit, and rich in faith, whom God has chosen ^p. That it is as easy for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, as for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of Heaven ^q. The same uncourtly writers denounce woes on the rich, the full, and the laughers; for that they have already received all the consolation, they are to have^r; and that hereafter they shall hunger, and weep, and howl. That they, who will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish, and hurtful lusts^s, which drown men in destruction, and perdition^t; for the love of money^u is the root of all evil. In short, they tell us, that

^p We know, who will have those, whom He does not choose.

^q It is curious to observe the difference between this world and the next. In one, riches are a *hindrance* to advancement; in the other, *nothing* can be *done* without them. Our prudent men think there is no time like the present.

^r If they be contented with this, ought not their modesty to be commended?

^s The lust of power, and the lust of the public money.

^t Will send them to that place, which the polite court-chaplain did not choose to mention before a quality-audience.

^u Which is the cause of the love of the posts and places, in which the great are so eager to *serve* their country.

CRITO MINOR.

that at the last awful period, it will be chiefly the great, and the rich, and the mighty, that will call upon the rocks, and the mountains, to fall on them, and hide them from the face of the tremendous Judge.

It is plain, that these same prophets and apostles were neither dukes, earls, nor lord bishops. And as they have thought fit to cast a slur on the great; the great have, I suppose, thought fit to be even with them, by giving little heed to any thing they have said. Which concludes this head.

SOME readers are sorry, I find, that CRITO should have bestowed time and trouble on rooting up Mr. ROUSSEAU's scheme (if it can be called a *scheme*) of education. They wish, that other matter, more edifying, on the same subject, had filled up that part of the second *Essay*, which is bestowed upon the reveries of a whimsical writer, who does not seem to have considered, whether his scheme had either practicability, or coherence.

HAD Mr. ROUSSEAU's writings drawn no more of the general attention, than they would, if I had been to decide upon their merits, it had been long enough before I should have troubled myself, or the public, about them. But when I observed the general applause heaped without measure, or discretion, upon one of the most unsubstantial authors, of this, or any age; I thought a brief examination of his weightiest performance was attempting a public service. And I own I wrote not so much against ROUSSEAU, as against his unreasonable admirers.

MORE especially, when the public applause became so serious, as to put people on making actual experiments of his tricks; I begun to think it was time, that somebody should appear in favour of poor children, who were likely to be ruined by being managed in a manner so fantassical and capricious.

WE have been publicly told of parents, who have, in consequence of Mr. ROUSSEAU's directions, resolved to let their young masters and misses roll on the ground all day long, from the coal-hole to the pig-sty, and from the pig-sty to the coal-hole, till they arrived at Mr. ROUSSEAU's magical twelfth year, when they are to be first treated as reasonable creatures. And I have been informed, that a lady-mother, an admirer of the Emilian method of education, actually wrote to the philosopher of Geneva a letter of thanks for the great edification her ladyship had received from his profound work; assuring him, she so entirely agreed with his notions, that her daughter was eleven years and eleven months old that blessed day, and had never heard (she hoped) that there was a God; much less any thing of her duty to remember her Creator in the days of her youth.

THESE particulars seemed to me to be carrying the jest rather too far. And as it was not easy to guess what lengths our admiration for the celebrated ROUSSEAU * might run us to in spoiling our children,

our

* The celebrated ROUSSEAU; his honorary *prænomén*; as the *just* ARISTIDES, the *good* PHOCION, the *great* ALEXANDER,

POSTSCRIPT. 219

our management of whom before was but too *careless*; I thought it was worth while to put in a *causal* against the introduction of whims into so serious an affair, as education.

HAD I foreseen, or could I, or any one, have imagined, the behaviour, which has lately astonished even those, who had the lowest opinion of ROUSSEAU; I should have thought him, and his book, less worthy of my attention, than I did. For I should have expected, that such conduct of the *author* would, of course, render the *production* harmless; and should have trusted to the common sense of mankind for the rejection of what was written by a person capable of behaving in a manner so extravagant and unaccountable.

NOT to enter into the merits of the dispute between those two gentlemen, the character of one of whom I have for many years known to be wholly inconsistent with the least disposition to any thing mean, or ungenerous; I will only leave to the reader's decision, whether much deference is due to the unexperimented speculations of a writer on a moral subject (education), whose *morals* have suffered him to treat his acknowledged best friend, and patron, ungratefully, about a *jest*, of which he had no reason to suspect his friend was the author, and which, though he had, was by

ALEXANDER, the *divine* PLATO, the *subtle* doctor, the *seraphic* doctor, the *irrefragable* doctor, &c.

BENTL. SECOND.

no means a sufficient foundation for *ingratitude*. If this behaviour of ROUSSEAU is to be ascribed, as Mr. HUME seems to think, to a *cervelle démontée*, it is manifest, still less attention is due to his opinions. Let us then conclude this subject, as the clergy do their sermons, with a word of application.

FROM hence, my Christian brethren, we may learn the weakness of bestowing, rashly, and thoughtlessly, exorbitant applauses on such writers, as have nothing to recommend them, but a supposed brilliancy of *style*; and that (excepting poetry) every book presented to the public ought to consist of somewhat more substantial than whipped cream.

A FRIEND writes to me, that he is afraid, lest my proposals to the good people of the twentieth century, for retrenching the *number* and *verbosity* of their laws, should, by some readers be thought *impracticable*. Law-makers have so long been accustomed to think they secure the *observance* of their laws by this means; it will not, he imagines, be easy to draw them from their old notions and methods of proceeding. Yet we do certainly know, that, in general, the best regulated states have had the *fewest* and *briefest* laws. The antients universally, and, among the moderns, the king of Prussia, have shewn themselves to be, on this point, of CRITO's opinion.

THERE cannot, I think, be a greater mistake than the notion, our law-makers have generally entertained, viz. That a *multitude* of *particulars* enumerated, tends to secure the observance of the law, and to prevent
evasions.

evasions. This very *multiplication* of particulars is precisely what opens the way for *evasion*; because it is impossible to enumerate *all* particulars; and then, wherever one article is *left out*, there is an opportunity for defeating the end of the law.

PERHAPS it may be answered, That, after the enumeration of fifty thousand particulars, it is usual to sum up the whole intent and meaning of the law in a *general* conclusion; by which means the deficiencies in the *particular* enumeration are supposed to be filled up, and all holes to creep out at (to use the common, but expressive phrase) are effectually stopped. But does not the *necessity* of using *general* and comprehensive phrases, after the most verbose accumulation of *particulars*, shew the justness of what I am observing, of the *inutility* of an endless multiplication of words? If, after the most enormous verbosity, the law is not complete without a *general* and comprehensive conclusion; who would not be glad to save a million or two of useless words? *

EVEN in our enormous and incomprehensible mass of law, there are *some compends*. A court may determine a particular to be a *nuisance*, which is not formally *specified* in any *statute*. Why should not this practice be general? Why should not a jury have power to decide on matters of property, and all other concerns between man and man, accordingly as the matter appears to *common sense*, without their being puzzled, and

L 3

distracted

* Ans. A Lawyer would not.

distracted by the counsellors at the bar, or the judges on the bench, explaining the inexplicable sense of the *law*. What is the value of *law*, otherwise than as it is, or ought to be, founded in *justice*? It is the wresting of the *law* to the *case*, or of the *case* to the *law*, that produces the whole mischief. Honest *common sense* will not be *wrested*. She will decide *impartially*, if left to *herself* free and untrammelled. But *such* is the presumptuous disposition of man, that we are ever applying our artificial *improvements*. Our theologians *, accordingly, have improved the *plain* sense of Scripture into a system of *mysteries* and contradictions. Our physicians will *overload* nature with their innumerable heterogeneous mixtures, and *prevent*, instead of *helping*, her efforts for relief; and our lawyers will hamper and *confound* *common sense* by an endless multiplication of useless and mischievous intricacies. Thus we bestow great labour, not to *gain*, but to *defeat* ourselves of our purposes.

On those passages, in my Dedication to the good people of the twentieth-century, which speak of the necessity of having the members of the house of commons *responsible* to their constituents (which the very nature of *delegated* power supposes) a friend writes, That, in a *certain* country, the majority of the persons commissioned to transact the public business, so far from considering themselves as *accountable* to their constituents, are *masters* of their constituents, and set them at *defiance*. They are, he says, a combination of men
considerable

* The *popish* undoubtedly. It is well known how plain and intelligible the *protestant* creeds, articles, and confessions are.

considerable by their wealth. They have got into their hands the power of *commanding* their own *elections*, and those of their friends. If electors pretend to oppose their schemes, or to *vindicate* their own *freedom* of voting, they threaten them with expulsion from the *lands* they farm of them; or with loss of the *places* they hold; or with litigious *lawsuits*; or they offer them a *temptation*, which they know their poverty will not resist. Are such electors *free*?

How happy it is for us, that the country, of which my friend speaks, is *not* England! A French writer says, The English are only free for a *few months* in every septenary of years. But, if the above were our dreadful case, we could not be said to be free even *once* in seven years. If we were not free in choosing at least the majority of our representatives; we might be said to be even *now enslaved*, and actually under *oligarchy*; not limited monarchy. Now, for my part, I should as soon choose to live under *one* Roman, Sicilian, or Phœæan tyrant, as under the *thirty* tyrants of Athens, and as soon under the *thirty* tyrants of Athens, as under *eight hundred* tyrants in the country my friend refers to. I say, therefore, again, How happy is it for us, that the country, of which my friend speaks, is *not* England!

A GENTLEMAN, who thinks CRITO has shaken the foundations of *Optimism*, is puzzled, he says, for anti-optimistical topics of *consolation* under the distresses of life. And, if one reader is, on CRITO's plan, at a loss, perhaps others may. Upon the common scheme, that whatever is, is right, he used to comfort himself, and others, with the common considerations, That all

things are under the *Divine* government; and therefore whatever happens must be *agreeable* to His *will*, and so forth. But, according to CRITO's representation, the *present* state of man is *different* from, and, in many instances, *opposite* to the Divine will, and intention. How then are we, says my friend, to comfort ourselves, and others, under distresses brought on by an invisible tyranny, against the supreme will, and from which the universal Governor does not deliver us?

To make readers easy on this head, I advise them to lay no stress on *ill-founded* considerations; as, That all is for the *best*. This maxim is, as, I think, I have proved, *false*. It is not *certain*, that it is for the *best*, that your promising son of twelve years old is cut off, and with him your hopes of pleasure lasting as your life. It had, without all doubt, been *better*, that he had lived, and proved the joy and comfort of your age, as well as an inestimable member of society; nor is there any thing inconsistent in supposing, that the child, you have lost, would have proved so. Nor is it a proper argument for submission, That all things are in the *state*, in which the Divine *wisdom* and *goodness* would have them. For neither is this true. The Supreme Governor sees more particulars *wrong*, and *contrary* to his intention, than we have a conception of. Nor is it a proper topic of consolation, That afflictions come from *God*, and are intended for our *trial* and *improvement*. For the *promiscuous* distresses of life may much more properly be said to come from the *Author of Evil*, than from the *Father of Mercies*. And they often prove the natural cause of *hindering* our progress in virtue, and are to us *inducements* to vice. For this is a fallen world. THE

THE proper topics of consolation, upon CRITO'S scheme, are such as the following, That the present *state*, though acknowledged to be *truly* and *properly* distressful, and disadvantageous for virtue, will be but of *short* duration. That, though *afflictions* are real evils, and, in many instances, produce *nothing*, but hurtful *distress*, they are not lasting, because life itself will soon be over. That though the immature *death* of our valuable friends and relations is a real matter of grief, and a *loss*, in many instances, *not* way made up to us either *here*, or *hereafter* (because our happiness might have been on the whole *greater*, had they lived) yet we have a prospect of *sufficient* happiness remaining after all *deductions*, (though the deductions are *really* such) if it be not our *own* egregious fault. That religion proposes a positive *reward* to all, who behave well in this present state. And we know, that it is good behaviour, to do our duty, and not suffer our attention to be interrupted by any thing, that may happen to us either of an agreeable or disagreeable kind. That we, who at present groan under the tyranny of the Enemy, shall quickly be set at liberty, and shall come under the immediate government of the One Supreme, when we shall, if found worthy, bid a final farewell to vice and misery.

I AM mistaken, if these be not as *substantial* topics of consolation, as the common ones, which are founded in a *false* representation of things.

A FRIEND desires, I would explain a little more particularly how I understand our species's extraordinary wickedness (Vol. II. p. 157.) as owing to SA-

TAN's having, by physical or mechanical means, corrupted and poisoned the elements, and consequently our bodies, which has produced a fatal aggravation of passions and appetites; how, I say, this is to be understood as brought about, in *our* species, by SATAN, while SATAN's wickedness is not to be ascribed to any cause *foreign* to himself. Why, says he, are *we* to be considered as debauched by SATAN; while SATAN is to be thought of as *self*-tempted, *self*-depraved?

IN answer to this, be it observed, that there are various particulars, in which our species *differs* widely from that of the rebel angels; which allows, if not requires, a *different* account to be given of the manner, in which they, and we, come to be, at present, in a state of remarkable degeneracy from virtue.

WE come into *existence* with various wrong casts of disposition, various inclinations peculiarly *disadvantageous* to that, for which we were *made*, viz. *virtue*. We do not know, nor suppose, that the rebel angels, or any other order of moral agents, besides, came into *existence* under such peculiarly unfortunate circumstances. It is this phænomenon, that is to be accounted for. And the account I give of it, seems plausible. Again, the astonishing *pitch* of wickedness, arrived at by many of our species in a *few* years, requires a peculiar account to be given of it. It is not to be wondered at, that beings, who have forsaken virtue, and, for many *ages* given themselves to the study and practice of vice, should accomplish themselves highly in wickedness. We are but of *yesterday*. SATAN, and his angels, may, for what we know, be *fifty thousand* years of age.

THE whole history of our world's coming under the influence of a sett of rebellious spirits, is a matter of mere *revelation*, without which we should not have had the least idea of it (though, now we have it, we can solve by it many otherwise unfurmountable difficulties); and as revelation informs us, that we are, in our present state, grievous *sufferers* by means of this hostility; it is but natural to account for the strange phænomenon of our *coming into existence* in a state *peculiarly unfavourable to virtue*, by charging it on *Him*, who is the cause of so much *other* peculiar distress and disadvantage to our unhappy species. Were there no instance of any individual's coming to be violently passionate, or outrageously libidinous, otherwise than through *long habit*, there would not be the same reason for having recourse to a *foreign* cause in accounting for the dispositions we observe in many of our species. But "our passions seem" (as I have observed, page 160 of this volume) "many
" of them, to be, even at their *first* appearance, and
" before they can have received any wrong cast, or any
" aggravation from education, or from habit, much
" *more violent*, than is *necessary*." This wonderful circumstance has accordingly suggested to some authors, the strange notion, That the human mind must have existed in some *former* state, in which it contracted a certain *labes mali*, which accordingly appears, at its first entrance into this world, and is, through the whole of life, with great difficulty, often not at all, restrained within the bounds of decency. Whether CRITO's solution is not more consistent with reason and Scripture than this assumed, and phantastical pre-existence, is submitted.

A SINCERE friend expresses some anxiety, lest what I say (Vol. II. p. 68.) in contempt of *human* inventions in religion, for which people are infinitely more zealous than for *divine truth*, should appear to the *superficial* part of readers, or be maliciously construed by the *ill-natured*, as a designed reflexion on *religion*. As to the many readers, who may be *provoked* by the severe truths contained in these two little volumes; I look for nothing from them, but *misrepresentation*. But, if any person should be really in doubt about CRITO's regard for sacred truth, let him only consider, whether it is likely, that an author would labour to *explain* what he *disbelieved*. And let him particularly peruse the following pages, viz. Vol. I. p. 133, 134, 135, 277, 278, 279, 280. Vol. II. p. 105 to 119, and the whole fourth Essay; and then let Candor pronounce, whether any writer can shew more sincere respect for *Holy Scripture*. As to the inventions of *men*, CRITO has only to say, "JESUS he knows, and PAUL he knows;" but who is the Roman pontif? Who is the archbishop of Canterbury? Who is ATHANASIUS, CALVIN, WHITFIELD, SANDIMAN, MUGGLETON, ZINZENDORFF?

To fill up a few more pages, and bring these two volumes to nearly the same *size*, I will here add some detached and miscellaneous paragraphs, on subjects connected with the foregoing.

*

THE author of BRITISH LIBERTIES thinks, with CRITO, that this constitution is chiefly in danger of falling into *aristocracy*. "Have we not (says he) as
" much,

“ much, or perhaps more, to fear from the ambition
 “ of some great subjects, than from that of any sove-
 “ rain whatever? Ought not the one to be as much
 “ guarded against as the other? Is the marriage act”
 (see CRITO, Vol. I. p. 41.) “ in every respect compa-
 “ rable with our form of government,” &c. *Introd.* page
 xxviii.

*

THE Whigs brought in a bill (2 and 3 Anne, c. 18.)
 for preventing placemen from sitting in the house of
 commons. It was thrown out. Another of the same
 kind, brought in afterwards, passed in one house,
 and was rejected in the other. An attempt was made
 to the same purpose (as above observed, Vol. II. p. 27.)
 in the time of Sir ROBERT WALPOLE of patriotic
 memory. Rejected. Will this proposal ever be re-
 vived? I cannot answer: but I can answer what will
 be the event, if it should.

*

AMBITIOUS men have no true *friends*. For all
 see plainly, that they think of nothing, but their *own*
 advancement; and that, if they shew any seeming re-
 gard for any person, it is merely from *selfish* views, and
 with the design of using them as their *tools*.

*

SIR W. Temple told king Charles II. that popery
 could never be the established religion of England, as
 of France, because, among other reasons, the *court* of
 England had but *few* emoluments in its gift; and
 therefore was not a *match* for the *nation*. Sir W.
 therefore thought, that if the court had *great* emolu-
 ments in its disposal, it might prove equal to the *im-*
posing on the *nation* a religion that was *disagreeable* to it.

He estimates (in his times, when popery prevailed much more in England, than at present) the papists at no more than one *hundredth* part of the people of England, and a two hundredth of those of Scotland. Are they then an object of our fear? Would to God, we had *none greater!*

*

MR. LOCKE accuses James II. of a design of *overturning the constitution*, because he *influenced elections*. What would he have said, had he seen the influence (not of *kings*, but of *p—rs*) which, in our times, absolutely *commands elections*?

*

“No one can wisely be confident, of any public minister’s continuing faithful longer than the rod is over him”, says the author of *BRITISH LIBERTIES*, page 184.

*

SOLON disallowed *neutrality* on national concerns. So does the *Freeholder* in his thirteenth paper. I do not approve of *ridicule* (as in the farce called the *Upholsterer*, the hint of which was taken, I suppose, from that of the *Spectator*) exercised on one of the most *laudable* dispositions of the human mind, viz. Solicitude about the welfare of our country. WAT TYLER, JACK STRAW, and the Fisherman of Naples, were commendable for taking the side of *liberty* against *imposition*. I do not defend their *violences*.

*

It has been publicly asserted, and not contradicted, that the annual amount of the *places* and *pensions* in the gift of the court is *two sterling millions*.

PYRRHUS

*

PYRRHUS challenged ANTIGONUS to single combat, for the kingdom of Macedon. ANTIGONUS declined the engagement. Yet we do not find, that the antients looked on his character as that of a *coward*.

*

“ THE freeholders of the counties, and freemen of
“ the cities, towns, and boroughs of this kingdom,
“ who, perhaps, are not a tenth part of its inhabi-
“ tants, choose the representatives of a whole nation ;”
says the author of *BRITISH LIBERTIES, Introduction*,
page xxii.

*

“ To what gross absurdities the following of custom,
“ when reason has left it, may lead, we may be satif-
“ fied, when we see the bare name of a town, of
“ which there remain not so much as the ruins, where
“ scarce so much housing as a sheep-cot, or more in-
“ habitants than a shepherd, are to be found, sends as
“ many representatives to the grand assembly of law-
“ makers, as a whole county numerous in people, and
“ powerful in riches.” *LOCKE, on Government.*

*

THE author of *BRITISH LIBERTIES* calls parliamen-
tary privilege a growing evil. *Introduction* p. LXIII.
See *CRITO*, Vol. II. p. 99.

*

MAGNANIMITY, heroism, patriotism, essentially im-
ply *self-denial*. The true great man is he, who *hazards*,
or *sacrifices*, to virtue and the public good, those *pro-*
fits, *pleasures*, or *honours*, which little minds admire.
Here is the infallible *criterion* of greatness. By this
let all pretenders to distinction be tried. Suppose a
country

country in danger from ambition, avarice, corruption, luxury, gaming; the true patriot, in such a country, is he, who *denies himself* these objects, and by his example discountenances the pursuit of them. PHILIP of Macedon did not hesitate to take the kingdom from his nephew, AMYNTAS, a minor. The state, he said, required a *man*. So might LYCURGUS have said; but he declined assuming to himself the royal power. PHILIP might have done all he did for the good of the state, as well as LYCURGUS, without mounting the throne; and would then have appeared to posterity in a much nobler light. TIMOLEON, after entirely clearing Sicily of her numerous tyrants, divested himself of all power, and retired to a private station. On the contrary, there is reason to think CROMWEL meant *himself* to fill the royal seat, he had emptied by the tyrant's death. At least there are extant letters from his friends dissuading him from such a project. Be that as it will, it is certain, he made himself a king, all but the word *Majesty*.

*

HIERONYMUS, successor to the good HIERO, so grieved his tutors, by his wickedness, that they laid violent hands on themselves; choosing death, rather than the pain of seeing the misbehaviour of one, whom they had laboured to train up to virtue. Next to the solicitude of the parent, is that of the faithful tutor.

*

THE parliament held out manfully against the encroachments of the court in the time of JAMES I. N. B. There were then few *court-places*, and fewer *pensions*.

THE

*

THE very design of the *septennial* act was to save an *odious ministry*, who feared being turned out by a new and incorrupt parliament. Thirty lords protested against it. Mr. SNELL, in his speech, said, They might as well make themselves *perpetual*, as continue to sit *one month* after the *period* of their *commission*, viz. three years, was *expired*. That honest gentleman thought himself *responsible* to those, from whom he received his delegated power. When the triennial bill was established in the time of Charles II. the king made a merit of granting parliaments after an interruption of twelve years. The commons would not allow this; but insisted, that there were then in force two statutes for *annual* parliaments. Thus has the British *constitution* been *betrayed*.

*

KING ANTIOCHUS ordered his subjects *not* to *obey* him, when his commands were *contrary* to the *laws*. K. HENRY III. gave the people, by charter, a power to *rise* against him, and *destroy* him, notwithstanding their allegiance, if he governed *ill*. And the good Roman emperor, giving, according to custom, to the captain of his guards, the sword, directed him to use it in his *defence*, if he governed *well*; but to turn it *against* him, if *otherwise*. This is allowing the maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex*, its full force and effect. Nor, in our times, is it from our *kings*, that we are in danger. In England, the *l—s* have the *advantage* of the *king*. They can *prevent* any encroachment on their privileges by act of parliament, by *refusing* to pass the bill, which they may, at any time, do without *consequence*. If the *king* refuses the royal assent to a bill, however *prejudicial*,

dicial, in his opinion, to his *prerogative*, the parliament can *retrench* the *civil list-revenue* next year.

*

DID a candidate mean honour (*real honour*) to himself, he would not seek it by means *inconsistent* with common *honesty*. Did he mean his *country's* good, in getting himself a seat in the house, we should see him exert himself, when there, toward the *redress* of *grievances*.

*

CARANUS, an antient king of Macedon, made it a rule never to treat a *captive* enemy worse, than he did his own *subjects*. It is amazing, that this practice was not universal. Is it not obvious, that the reputation of *lenity* to prisoners of war naturally inclines an enemy to *yield* quickly, rather than hazard being killed by fighting obstinately; and that men, who dread being *cruelly* used, if taken captive, may be expected to sell their lives as dear as possible, and prefer *death* in the glorious field to *chains*, *slavery*, and *cruel* treatment? Yet we know, the *antients*, in general, very impolitically, treated their captives with *barbarity*. In the late war, the French sailors comforted one another, when taken, saying, *Il y a du bon boeuf roti en Angleterre*.

*

IF the antient republicans thought it necessary to banish their great men by ostracism and petalism, lest they should become too *powerful*, and seize the liberties of their country, what would they do in *our* times? They had no such lucrative *places*, no such *pensions* floating and fixed, no such *reversions* going down from generation to generation, as we have, to tempt them to aspire to power; nor had they our voracious *card-tables*, our
theatres,

theatres, our Ranelagh's, our Cornellys's, our annual Parisian expeditions, our town-houses, and country-houses, our coaches, chariots, phaetons, and tim-whiskies, to keep up at the expence of princely incomes, and of perjury, of the ruin of our country, and damnation.

*

XENOPHON was so *poorly* rewarded for conducting home the ten thousand, a piece of generalship, which will be celebrated, as long as the world stands, that he was afterwards obliged to *sell* his *horse* for want of money. We give a general fifty thousand pounds *per ann.* for life, only for fighting one battle.

*

IT was common among the wise antients to invite *foreigners* into their countries, by offering them *citizenship*. GELON king of Syracuse introduced *ten thousand* in this manner at once. We know better things.

*

THE Ionians were once as brave as the other Greeks. But they degenerated through *luxury*, the ruin of all bravery and public virtue. MAXIMUS TYRIUS says, "The Crotonians loved the Olympic games, the Spartans fine armour, the Cretans hunting, the Sybarites pompous dress, and the Ionians lascivious dances." [Our *stage-dancers* would have charmed them.] They accordingly joined Xerxes against their countrymen the Athenians.

*

ARISTOCRACY, or *oligarchy*, do not sound so tremendous in the ear of a free people, as *absolute monarchy*, or *tyranny*. But, if we consider, we shall find, that every tyranny is, in fact, an *oligarchy*. For no tyrant can stand alone against the body of the people headed by

by the *grandeos*. He must join to his party, by means of those gratifications, which power can command, such a number of the *leaders*, as shall be sufficient to secure him against the united odium of the people; and he must have the good will of the *army*. Thus, the tyranny becomes a combination among the *grandeos*, supported by the military, and headed by the prince. Is not this an *oligarchy*, or *junto*? It is even easier to imagine a knot of *great men* united with designs unfavourable to liberty, drawing, by *artful*, or *compulsory* means, the *soverain* into their schemes; than the *prince* engaging the *grandeos* in designs against the subjects. This latter can only happen, when the sovereign is a CÆSAR, or a LEWIS. The former is always to be dreaded, when the leading men in a nation shew themselves remarkably attached to *ambitious*, or *avaricious* views. As under *all* forms of government, liberty may be *safe* (this is not saying, that all forms of government are *equally* eligible) so under *any*, it may occasionally come to be in *danger*. Even under that most perfect one, of king, lords, and commons, the growing power and interest of the *great* is ever to be attended to with an eye of watchful apprehension, as ever *ominous* to all that a *free* people ought to hold *dear*. The best form of government is that, which the most effectually prevents the *governors* from having in their inclinations, or in their power, to *prejudice* the *interest* of the governed. Now, though it is, theoretically speaking, improbable, that the wit of man will ever invent a *form* of government *less* likely, than the British, to bring the interest of the subjects into *danger* from the indirect views of those in power (as no form of government can well be conceived, in which the governors would be less obnoxious to bribery) yet it is manifest, that

that there is a *length*, to which if a designing court could carry the business of *pensioning*, they might corrupt a majority of ambitious and greedy men in *parliament*, so as to prevail with them to approve of measures the most destructive to national liberty and happiness *. If the good people of Britain do not see *where* their danger lies, and who, among the great, are their true friends, and who their enemies, they may be, as the French compliment them, a nation of *philosophers*; but they cannot, I think, be justly celebrated for their *political* sagacity.

*

VALERIUS MAXIMUS tells us, p. 211, that on occasion of publishing, at Rome, a certain sumptuary law; a dry old joker mounted the rostra, and told the people, "He thought it was now time to demolish the Roman commonwealth; since *liberty* was now so *retrenched*, that the people were no longer to have it in their power to squander their *own* money, and ruin their *own* constitutions as they pleased." The good people of England are, at this blessed time, very much of the same humour with that which this old Roman exposed in his contemporaries. Their whole idea of *liberty* is, Being left to themselves, to behave as *foolishly* as they please. At the same time, they have but little *apprehension* of danger to *liberty* where the *real* danger is. The *worst* government is
the

* Did not a corrupt court obtain from a corrupt parliament an approbation of the peace of Utrecht? After such a shameless compliance, what may not a court obtain of a parliament?

the *least* diligent in restraining *vice* and *folly* in the subjects. Vice and folly are indeed the *handles*, by which a designing government lays hold of an unthinking people, and leads them into slavery and wretchedness.

THE *national* character of a people takes its rise from, and regulates itself according to, 1. The genius, manners, way of life, government, and condition of the *aborigines*, now supposed to be, through length of time, and failure of records, lost. 2. According to the *form* of government, they are now under, whether absolute or free, well or ill contrived, and well or ill executed. 3. According to the genius of their *religion*, whether moral or immoral, mild or intolerant. 4. According to their general way of *life*, whether they employ themselves chiefly in commerce, navigation, agriculture, pasture, hunting, war, &c. 5. According to their *climate*, *air*, and *soil*, whether hot, cold, temperate, clear, foggy, healthy, or the contrary. 6. According to their *situation*, whether continental, or insular, among peaceful or turbulent neighbours, &c. 7. According to the quality of their *food*, as flesh, or vegetables, and the ease or difficulty of obtaining a supply of it; and their *drink*, as water, malt-liquors, wines, distilled spirits. 8. According to their *riches*, or *poverty*, compared with their neighbours. 9. According to their improvements in *learning* and *arts*. 10. According to the species of *education* which prevails among them, whether chiefly moral, or chiefly scientific, whether judicious or improper, effectual or ineffectual. 11. According to the *example* shewn by the *rich*, whether idle, luxurious, and corrupt, or patriotic, temperate, and virtuous. 12. According to the wisdom, and integrity, or the weakness and corruption, of those, in whose hands

hands the *executive* power is lodged. Some of these particulars lie *out* of the *reach* of governments, and magistrates, to alter, or amend; such as the situation of a country; the effects necessarily arising from the way of life, in which a particular people are *necessarily* engaged; those produced by climate, air, soil, &c. But most of the *others* are at the *command* of governors and magistrates, and may be improved almost at their pleasure. The heads of a nation may alter what they find amiss in the form of *government*. They may promote what reformatations in *religion*, they find proper. They may take care, that there be a constant *sufficiency* of good and wholesome provisions. They have it in their power to secure timely supplies from *other* countries, if a deficiency should arise in their *own*. It is a part of their *proper business* to *know* what *quantity* of provisions there is at all times in the country. It is in their power to prevent the *healths* and *lives* of the subjects from being prejudiced, or lost, by means of hurtful eatables, or liquors. They have it in their power to promote *industry*, and consequently *thriving*; and to encourage *learning* and *arts*. They may excite, by their approbation, the educators of the youth to bestow their chief attention on the forming of the *heart* to every virtue, private, and social; and to *depart* from established *forms* received in times of *ignorance*. And they have it undoubtedly in their power to set before the people a good *example*, and to see to the due *execution* of what they *themselves* have in their *own* hands the execution of. There are methods, better and worse, easier and more difficult, surer and more precarious, more direct and more tedious, safer and more dangerous, of gaining valuable national purposes. Is it

it not, therefore, to be wondered, that we seldom hear of *prizes* proposed by governments for the best solutions of such political *problems* as the following? To point out the most effectual means for checking *idleness*, and promoting *industry*. To find the best means for restoring, in a degenerate people, a sense of *honour*, love of their *country*, attachment to *religion*, and a disposition *tractable* and *submissive* to salutary laws and regulations. To draw the best plan of an *education* respectively proper for a prince, a nobleman, a gentleman, a citizen, a labourer. To find the best means for setting *religion* upon such a foot, that it may be freed from the inconveniencies produced, in all countries, by what are called *establishments*. To point out the most effectual means for *convincing* persons of all ranks, high and low, that honesty is better than knavery, public-spirit nobler than selfishness, and heaven more desirable than damnation.

*

WE see some few among us do still make a point of attending solemnly a place of public *worship* once in seven days. If there be any *meaning* in this practice (which they best know, who observe it) one would imagine it should be of some consequence, that people worship what they, at least, believe has a *being*. It is notorious, that many, who *statedly* attend *Athanasian* worship, do hold the *Athanasian* doctrine in *abhorrence* *; and that those, who do not believe it, do constantly

* Many whole parishes constantly sit down whenever that celebrated creed is read.

do constantly give this reason for their disbelief of it, That it appears to them flatly *self-contradictory*. I am not here setting myself to enter into the question, Whether the Athanasian doctrine be *true* or *false*. I am only observing, that many among us, who (with NEWTON, CLARKE, LOCKE, WHITEY, EMLYN, &c.) are *satisfied*, that it neither *is*, nor *can be true*, do constantly pay solemn worship to H——y, bl——d and gl——s Tr——ty. *Quæritur*, therefore, the *rationale* of worshipping, or seeming to worship, what we are persuaded, has *no existence*? The papists have thought proper to put the virgin MARY into the Tr——ty, and call her the complement, or completing of it. That is, The F——r, the S——n, the H——y Gh——t, and the virgin MARY, the undivided mystical *four*, or *three*, which is the same (for in a *mystery*, *three* is the same as *four*, and *four* the same as *one*; *finite* the same as *infinite*; *human* the same as *divine*) the mystical *four*. I say, are the tr——ty, or rather *quaternity*, that is, *four* different beings, some *infinite*, some *finite*, some *mortal*, some *immortal*, are only *three* beings, and these *three-four* beings, are the *One*, *indivisible*, *simple*, unoriginated Spirit, the first Cause and Fountain of being. No protestant holds the virgin MARY, who has these many ages been *dead* and rotten, to be any part of the *immortal* God. This is out of the question. But I should imagine, that to a person, who denies the Athanasian doctrine, it should not appear a whit *more* absurd to put the virgin MARY into the Tr——ty, or Godhead, than *any other* being whatever. All beings are *equally* distinct from, and *inferior*, to the Supreme; the S——n as much as the virgin; the virgin as much as a worm. For *all* beings, but the *One* supreme only, are *finite*; and there must ever be an *infinite* distance

between *finite* and *infinite*. The question, therefore, is, How any rational and pious person *satisfies* himself, that it is *lawful* for him to attend constantly a species of worship, which he *himself* holds to be *absurd*; and this, while he has it in his *power* to *withdraw* himself from such worship, and give support and *countenance* to what is, according to his *own* notions, *rational* as to the Object worshipped. Will it be said, "We freely declare our sentiment. We do not *dissemble*. We publicly *discountenance* the *Athanasian* creed, by refusing to join in the reading of it. Whenever ecclesiastical authority *insists* on our joining in the recital of that famous creed, we will immediately turn our backs upon those places of worship, which support *absurdity* by *power*. Till then, we see no impropriety in attending on a species of worship not modified to our perfect *approbation*; as, perhaps none can be found altogether irreprehensible." If this apology should be offered, let it be considered, how, on *such* principles, religious *truth* would ever have *prevailed* over *error*; and how a protestant's constant and *exclusive* attendance, in a *protestant* country, on *popish* worship, could be proved *culpable*; which yet would meet with the universal disapprobation of all conscientious persons. I will urge this no farther; though much more might be said. Only, I beg leave to add, That to those, who disbelieve the *Athanasian* doctrine, it should, in my opinion, be a much *weightier* cause of dissenting, that a certain establishment is formed upon what they look upon as *absurd*, and *idolatrous*, than upon usurped *human* power. And that, therefore, to the opposers of the tr——n opinion, it ought to be very desirable to see religious societies *formed* professedly on *unitarian* principles,

principles, and *denominated* accordingly, rather than by the general appellation of *dissenters*, which leaves the grand point, viz. What object of worship they hold, *undetermined*; as it is known, that some among them are *tr——n*, some *unitarian*, in principle, and in worship, and most too *inexplicit* in declaring themselves.

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DURING Strafford's trial, that rash and thoughtless prince Ch. I. finding, that the Peers, contrary to his expectation, deserted his minion in the hour of danger, made an untimely speech, in his favour, to both houses, signifying, that he could not, in conscience, condemn him of high treason, &c.

"This premature declaration," (says our incomparable female historian) "set the Commons in a flame. ———" "The House voted, that this *act of the King's* "was the most unparalleled breach of privilege, that "had ever happened, &c."

WE find, by this passage, that the wisest House of Commons, that ever sat, considered the King's making a speech to his parliament, as *his own act*. I only mention this to shew, how we improve on our forefathers. Time was, we see, when the king's speech was the *king's* speech. But (wonderful power of party-logic!) when Mr. W. was pleased, lately, to criticise, in his *polite* manner, on the speech of his present M. (whom Heaven preserve) it was *not* his *M—ty's* speech. It was the *minister's*. And he intended not the least disrespect to his *Sovereign*. He did not call the K. a

lyar. He meant the persons, whose *speaking-trumpet* his august Sovereign was. See CRITO, vol. I. p. 24.

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IN certain periods of the British history, as the times of the STUARTS, it has been the endeavour of the promoters of arbitrary power to *prevent* the sitting of *parliaments*, as dreading the impartial inquiries, of that awful assembly, into their mischievous designs. At other times, it has been the artifice of the enemies of their country to *lengthen* immoderately the period of parliaments, and to render them more and more *dependent* on the court. Which of these two schemes is the most dangerous to liberty? The former is clumsy and palpable: The latter delicate and effectual. When ministerial art labours only to *prevent* the *meeting* of a parliament; let the friends of liberty and their country gain the single point, of an *independent* parliament's coming together; the spell is immediately broken; corruption and arbitrary power are quickly overset. But if the court-junto have found means to *destroy* the *independency* of parliaments; all is over. The *fountain*, from whence only national welfare can be expected to flow, being *poisoned*, whither shall an undone people turn themselves for redress?

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It can never be, among reasonable persons, a matter of disputation, Whether a particular state is in possession of *liberty*, or *enslaved*. The following criterion will, in a moment, decide the point. Is there a *single* national *object* universally *desired* by the *independent* people, and which implies no contradiction, or impossibility? Is it *out of the power* of the people to *obtain* this

this of their governors? I say, That people have *lost* their *liberties*. The whole independent people of France (for instance) have long wished to be delivered from the cruel oppression of their revenue-farmers. It is out of their power to obtain of their government, redress of this grievance. This is the proof, that they have lost their liberties. I say nothing (the reader sees) of any people, who may *think* themselves *free*; but who, if they were to poll their independent individuals on the subject of grievances, might find a multitude *universally* acknowledged to be *such*, but as *hopeless* of redress, as *deserving* of it. Such a people, if such a people there is, may not be so irrecoverably overwhelmed by tyranny, as the unhappy French. But the sacred fences of liberty once broken through, who can foretell how soon the irresistible inundation may swallow all?

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When people read, they approve, or disapprove of what they read, not so much according to *real* merits, or deficiencies, as according to their respective *turns* of mind, whether grave or gay, pious or loose, modest or conceited, candid or disingenuous; or according to the species of *study*, to which they have chiefly given their application, whether classical, philosophical, mathematical, or theological. Most people hate the *trouble* of groping to the bottom of the well *. Many get a sett of

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* Alluding to the old philosopher's notion, That *Truth* hid herself in a deep well, which rendered her so inaccessible.

tricks in thinking, as in walking. Most readers are fonder of the erroneous notions, to which they have long been *accustomed*, than of new ones, that are more accurate; as gouty men love their old easy shoes better than new ones, however preferable for neatness. It is rare (such is the natural *inertia* of mankind) that the *same* generation sees a new truth *started*, and generally *received*. Most minds are, like flies in bird-lime, too *weak* to disengage themselves from the prejudices of *education* and *fashion*. Many readers think themselves *interested* to defeat the faithful labours of those well meaning writers, who apply themselves to the detection and discouragement of vice and folly. And these last are the worst critics an author can have to deal with. *Irritated* by the *severe truths* they find in his book, *rancour* inspires their wit (bad men often possess abilities) with the most *envenomed malignity*. Then follow misrepresentations of the writer's *sense*; surmises against his religious or political *principles*; accusations against the *honesty* of his intention; and stabs in the dark at his unspotted *reputation*.

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A CLERGYMAN preached a course of sermons against the pope; which he concluded in the following manner:
 "And now, my Christian brethren, you may, perhaps,
 "imagine, I have said enough to make old ANTI-
 "CHRIST ashamed of himself. Alas, my friends, he
 "sits as firm in his chair, as he did before I preached
 "my first sermon against him."

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"*Truths* would you teach, or *save* a sinking *land*;

"All *fear*; none *aid* you; and few *understand*."

POPE.

F I N I S.

